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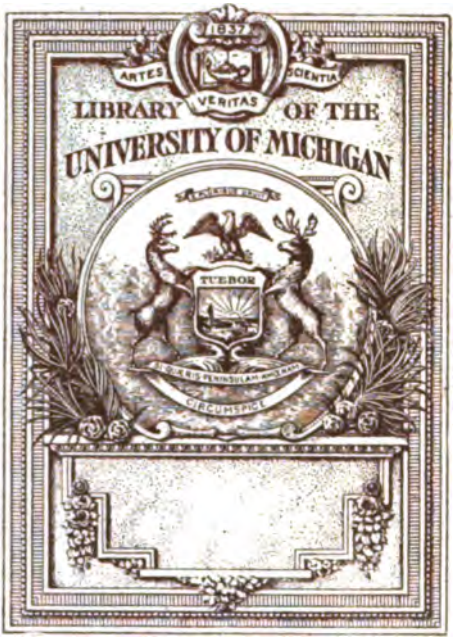
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME THE SECOND

OF THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

PAGE

I. The Hellenics of Xenophon, and their Division into Books. By G. C. Lewis 1

II. On the Signification of ψυχή and εἴδωλον in the Iliad and Odyssey. By Dr. K. H. W. Voelcker. Translated from the German by C. P. Mason . . 45

III. Observations on the Provincial Word *Songle*. By Sir Edmund Head, Bart. 55

IV. On the Rivers of Susiana, and the Eulæus and Choaspes. By Professor Long 65

V. Des Sophokles Antigone, Griechisch und Deutsch, herausgegeben von A. Boeckh. Berlin, 1843, 8vo.—And The Antigone of Sophocles, with notes critical and explanatory. By T. Mitchell. By Thomas Dyer 69

VI. What City does Herodotus mean by Cadytis? By the Rev. William Ewing 93

VII. The Cambridge Edition of Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulis. By J. C. 98

VIII. On the Rhythm of Ancient Greek Music. By Professor W. F. Donkin 110

IX. Miscellaneous Papers 116

On the Meaning of the Word *alανής*. By Philologus, 116.—Emendation of a Passage in the Hecuba of Euripides, v. 1152, seq. Edit. Herm. By Philologus, 117.—On a Passage in Demosthenes' Oration against Timocrates. By Thomas Dyer, 119.—Æschylus' Eumenides. By William Linwood, 121.—Conjectures upon some Passages in Justin Martyr. By R. S., 122.—Specimen of a Translation of Lycophron's Cassandra. By R.A.S., 123.—Specimen of a New Translation of Virgil's Æneid. By Dr. James Henry, 127.

PAGE

X. Notices of Recent Publications 132

H. L. Ahrens, De Græcæ Linguæ Dialectis. Göttingen, 1839 and 1843. Two Vols. 8vo. 132.—The Enkheiridion of Hehfaistion, concerning Metres and Poems. Translated into English, with Notes, &c. By Th. Foster Barham. Cambridge, 1843, 8vo. 134.—Textrinum Antiquorum; an Account of the Art of Weaving among the Ancients. Part I., on the Raw Materials. By James Yates. London, 1843, 8vo. 135.—Observations occasioned by some part of Mr. Ainsworth's Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, 138.—Sophokles Tragödien von F. K. G. Stäger. Urschrift und Uebersetzung. Halle, 1841. Two Vols. 8vo. 140.—Discoveries of Greek MSS., 140.—Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, 141.—Proceedings of the Philological Society, 142.

XI. Lists of English and Foreign Philological Publications 144

XII. On Cyclopean Remains in Central Italy. By E. H. Bunbury 147

XIII. On the Chronology of the Horatian Poems. By Thomas Dyer 187

XIV. On the Apology of Socrates, commonly attributed to Xenophon. By Dr. L. Schmitz 221

XV. On an Etruscan city recently discovered, and probably the Vetulonia of Antiquity. By G. Dennis . . 229

XVI. On the Study of Sanscrit, and F. Bopp's Vergleichende Grammatik der Sanscrit, Zend, Griech., Lat., &c. (Berlin, 1833, &c. 4to.) By Lord Francis Egerton 247

XVII. The Licinian Rogation, de Modo Agri. By Professor Long 254

XVIII. Miscellanies 285

A Conjecture on Sophocles' Œd. Col. 1050. By T. F. K., 285.—Specimens of a Translation of the Odes of Horace. By Professor Blackie, 287.—Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. By William Ewing, 290.

XIX. Notices of Recent Publications 292

Theocritus, Codicum MSS. ope recensuit et emendavit Christophorus Wordsworth. Cambridge, 1844, 8vo. 292.—C. O. Müller's Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology. Translated from the German by John Leitch. London, 1844, 8vo. 295. —Kühner's Grammar of the Greek Language. Translated from the German, by B. B. Edwards and S. H. Taylor. London, Wiley and Putnam, 1844, 8vo. 297.—Antiquitates Vergilianæ ad vitam populi Romani descriptæ a Laurentio Lersch. Bonn, 1843, 8vo. 299.

XX. Lists of English and Foreign Philological Publications 304

XXI. Ueber die Stelle des Varro von den Liciniern (De Re

PAGE

Rust. I. 2, 9) &c. Von Ph. E. Huschke. Heidelberg, 1835, 38. By Professor Long . . . 307

XXII. On the Particles ὅπως and ὡς ἄν with a conjunctive and optative. By J. G. S. 334

XXIII. Was dancing an element of the Greek chorus? By G. H. Lewes 344

XXIV. On the Sculptured Groups in the Pediments of the Parthenon. By Professor F. G. Welcker. Translated from the Author's MS. by Dr. L. Schmitz . . 367

XXV. On English Grammars, by G. F. Graham . . 404

XXVI. Notices of Recent Publications 411

Apollon's Ankunft in Delphi. Von P. W. Forchhammer. Kiel, 1840, 4to. 411.—Die Geburt der Athene. By the same. Kiel, 1841, 4to. 412.—Βαβρίου Μυθίαμβοι. Babrii Fabulæ Iambicæ CXXIII., nunc primum editæ. J. F. Boissonade recensuit, Latine convertit, annotavit. Paris, 1844, 8vo. 412.—Plutarchi Cimon. Commentariis suis illustravit et de vitæ hujus fontibus disseruit A. Ekker. Traject. ad Rhen. 1843, 8vo. 414.—Propertii Elegiarum libri quatuor. Quæstionum Propertianarum libris tribus et commentariis illustravit G. A. B. Hertzberg. Vols. I. and II. Halle, 1843—44, 8vo. 414.—Strabonis Geographica: recensuit, commentario criticio instruxit G. Kramer. Vol. I. Berlin, 1844, 8vo. 417.—M. Tullii Ciceronis Brutus, sive de Claris Oratoribus liber. Recensuit, emendavit, interpretatus est F. Ellendt. Regimont. Pruss. 1844, 8vo. 418.—Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer, nach den Quellen bearbeitet von W. A. Becker. Vol. II., part 1. Leipzig, 1844, 8vo. 419.—Aristophanis Comœdiæ cum Scholiis. Ex recensione R. Enger. Vol. I., parts 1 and 2. Bonn, 1844, 8vo. 420.

XXVII. Lists of Recent Philological Publications. 421

THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

I.

THE HELLENICS OF XENOPHON, AND THEIR DIVISION INTO BOOKS.

IN a paper published in the first number of the *Rheinisches Museum*, and since reprinted in his Miscellaneous Works[1], Niebuhr propounded a theory respecting the Hellenics of Xenophon, which, he says, had long before occurred to him, but of which he had been then accidentally reminded by the remark of a contributor to the same journal upon a passage in the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus. He considers the Greek History of Xenophon as formed of two distinct works, written at different times, viz. the conclusion of Thucydides, and the Hellenics. The conclusion of Thucydides, consisting of the first two books, was, he thinks, written in the interval between the return of the Ten Thousand and the recall of Agesilaus from Asia (B.C. 400—394); whereas the last five books, which form a whole by themselves, were written after the beginning of Olymp. 106 (356 B.C.), as appears from the account of the tyrants of Pheræ[2]. The early date of the first two books is, he remarks, proved by the words

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[1] See *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. I. p. 464. A translation of the paper, by the Bishop of St. David's, is in the *Philological Museum*, Vol. I. p. 485—9.

[2] Xenophon, Hellen. VI. 4. § 35-7, after having described the assassination of Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ by his wife and her brothers, says: τὰ μὲν οὖν αἴτια τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτω λέγεται· τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πραξάντων ἀχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο Τισίφονος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν. § 37. where ὅδε ὁ λόγος means 'this history,' or 'this part of this history.' Mr. Clinton thinks that Alexander was slain in Ol. 105. 1. (B.C. 36[illegible] and that Tisiphonus ruled from t[illegible] year till Ol. 106. 4 (357). See his *F[illegible]* Vol. II. ad ann. 359, and App. c. 15. I[illegible] dorus places the death o[illegible] 357 B.C.

at the end of the second book; ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος; which could not have been written by Xenophon forty-four years after the amnesty. Niebuhr adds, in confirmation of this view, the following arguments:

"Another statement which appears to me likewise well deserving of attention is, that Xenophon published the books of Thucydides...It is extremely probable that he resided at Athens for some time after the battle of Cnidus, and that he was living under the eyes of his fellow-citizens, when he brought out the two supplemental books; and that he subjoined them as such from the first to those of Thucydides. According to the *Bibliotheca Græca*, all the seven in the Aldine edition bear the title of Paralipomena of Thucydides; and this was no doubt taken from some manuscript: it is appropriate for the first two books, and was assuredly their original one: it only becomes absurd by being extended too far: Marcellinus, I conceive, was acquainted with the two books in their separate state, and it is they οἷς Ξενοφῶν συνάπτει τὰ Ἑλληνικά. For this again is the appropriate title for the last five.

"The ancients set so high a value on harmony of numbers in their distribution of parts, and on symmetry in general, that one may hazard the conjecture that the Paralipomena formed only one book; so that, including them, the whole history of the Peloponnesian war made up nine, like that of Herodotus. As a single book they would not be more bulky than one of Thucydides. Ten however is likewise a suitable number, especially for Athens; whereas seven is one altogether accidental and arbitrary[3]. The five of the Hellenics would be the half of the former, and combined with the seven of the Anabasis, would make twelve." (*Phil. Mus.* Vol. I. p. 488).

The argument derived by Niebuhr from the occurrence of the word *Paralipomena* in the Aldine edition of the Hellenics, has been shewn by L. Dindorf to be founded on a mistake[4]. The name appears to have been given at a late date to the Hellenics of Xenophon, and some other works, including the later Greek

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[3] 'Doch auch zehn ist eine angemessene Zahl, zumahl für Athen; wogegen sieben eine ganz zufällige und unbegründete.' *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. I. p. 468.

[4] His remarks were published in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* for 1833, Vol. I. p. 254, and a translation of them is given in the *Philol. Mus.* Vol. II. p. 241; where see the editor's note. Compare Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, Tom. I. pp. 96, 97. (ed. 2).

history, considered in connexion with Herodotus and Thucydides; and it was probably, as Dindorf remarks, suggested by the Alexandrine title of the books of Chronicles. Neither Diodorus, he adds, nor the old grammarians who cite the Greek history of Xenophon, are acquainted with any other title of it than Ἑλληνικά[5].

Dindorf however concludes his remarks thus: "Although the external evidence which Niebuhr has adduced in support of his opinion seems to me to have no weight, yet any person who considers the internal proofs as convincing, is still at liberty to hold that the Hellenics were written at different times, and even with different objects."

Setting aside the argument founded on the title of *Paralipomena*, as unsupported by sufficient testimony, I propose to examine whether the arguments derived from the character of the Hellenics, and the division and number of its books, are sufficient to establish the view taken by Niebuhr.

In the first place it may be remarked that Niebuhr's arguments with respect to the different periods at which the earlier and later books of the Hellenics were composed, do not prove that the work was not considered by the author as one. Even if the first two books were written soon after the return of the Ten Thousand, and the later books were completed forty years afterwards, it does not follow that Xenophon considered them as belonging to different works. The ancient writers appear to have often kept their works under revision during a large part of their life. This was probably the case with the history of Herodotus; and Niebuhr himself particularly remarks the same fact with respect to the *History of Plants*, by Theophrastus. "From the archons mentioned in the *History of Plants*," he says, "the time of its completion and publication may be deduced negatively. These chronological notices show indeed during how long a time previous to the publication such additions as suggested themselves were incorporated by the philosopher with his work, which had been composed, but not yet laid before the world. In the year 117. 2. he wished to state that Cyrene had then stood for about three hundred years; so he named the archon of the day (vi. 3). Thus natural phenomena were related to him as having occurred about so many years before; all these dates might have been referred to the year of the publi-

[5] For example, Diog. Laert. II. 57. and Phot. *Biblioth.* p. 532 a. 19. ed. Bekker. Athen. v. p. 217 F. cites Ξενοφῶν ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑλληνικῶν, *i. e.* I. 7. § 14.

cation; but it was quite superfluous. Numberless other additions must have been made in the same way, which are not to be detected, not being appended externally, but immediately wrought into the work itself. In like manner (he adds) Aristotle has evidently enlarged his Rhetoric, which in his first sketch was one of his earlier works, with additions till toward the close of his life." (*Hist. of Rome*, Vol. I. note 30).

It is to be observed, with respect to the Greeks of the fourth century before Christ, that the publication of a book was a far less marked and precise event than it has become since the invention of printing, or than it even became at a later date in Greece. When Plato, or Xenophon, or Aristotle, had composed a work, probably he read it, or portions of it, to some of his friends or disciples[6]; perhaps, too, a few persons caused copies to be made; but the publicity was so limited that the author naturally continued to revise it so long as his interest in the subject remained alive[7]. After a literary class had been formed in Greece, the deposit of a book in the Alexandrian library, as in the temple of the Palatine Apollo at Rome, might have formed nearly as distinct an epoch in an author's mind as an advertisement of his book in a newspaper forms at present; but the Athenian writers before the age of Alexander had no such event for marking the time at which a writing became the property of the public[8].

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[6] Favorinus reported an anecdote respecting Plato, that on an occasion when he read aloud his dialogue of the Phædo, all the audience went away except Aristotle. Diog. Laert. III. 37.

[7] ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διαλόγους κτενίζων καὶ βοστρυχίζων καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀναπλέκων οὐ διέλιπεν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη. Dionys. Hal. de Comp. Verb. c. 25, (p. 406, Schaefer), who goes on to tell the well-known anecdote of the first words of the Republic having been found, after Plato's death, written in different ways on his tablet. Compare Diog. Laert. III. 37, and Ast ad Rep. init. With respect to the successive alterations and improvements of his works by Aristotle, see the remark of Stahr, *Aristotelia*, Vol. II. p. 43, and as to the question whether Aristotle published his own works, ibid. pp. 35, sq.

[8] There was no public library at Athens at this period. See the accounts of the early libraries, in Gräfenhan, *Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie*, Vol. I. p. 58, sq. Strabo, XIII. p. 608, states that Aristotle was the first person who collected a library: πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν συναγαγὼν βιβλία, καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. Compare Stahr's *Aristotelia*, Vol. II. p. 25. The important influence which the foundation of the Alexandrine libraries and the creation of a set of literary endowments by the Egyptian princes produced upon Greek literature, is remarked by Littré, in his Introduction to Hippocrates: "Les conquêtes d'Alexandre, les communications multipliées qui s'établirent entre la Grèce et l'Orient, la fondation d'Alexandrie en Egypte, la formation des grandes bibliothèques dans cette ville et à Pergame produisirent, dans les rélations littéraires, une revolu-

We may therefore admit that the earlier and later portions of the Hellenics were written by Xenophon at distant periods of time and in different states of mind; without authorizing the inference that they were regarded by him as forming distinct works. That the second and third books were not less closely connected with one another than the first book was connected with the termination of Thucydides, is proved by the beginning of the third book, the first words of which—ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν—are unintelligible if they are not referred to the narrative in the preceding book. The only argument which now remains to be considered is that derived from the division of the Hellenics into books, and their number. It is advanced by Niebuhr with apparent confidence in its soundness, and its grounds require a detailed examination.

Adopting the statement of Diogenes Laertius[9], that Xenophon published the history of Thucydides; he adds to it the conjecture, that Xenophon subjoined to the eight books of Thucydides either two books, or one book, of his own supplement; thus making altogether either *ten* or *nine* books. Either of these numbers would, he thinks, be consistent with probability; ten being a number suitable to Athens, and nine being that of the books of Herodotus; whereas seven, which is the number of the books of the Hellenics according to our copies, is, in his view, altogether arbitrary and unfounded, and inconsistent with the respect for numerical symmetry by which the ancients were distinguished.

But these arguments, even upon the supposition made by Niebuhr, are extremely doubtful. The statement of Diogenes respecting the publication of the history of Thucydides by Xenophon, is too uncertain to serve as the foundation of historical inferences: Poppo rejects it altogether, as devoid of authority[10]. Moreover, if the division of books in our copies of the early Greek historians is to be considered as made by the authors themselves, it cannot be permitted to combine the two first books of the Hellenics into one, in order that with the eight books of Thucydides they may form nine books, after the model of Herodotus. But the history of Thucydides was not constantly divided into eight books by the ancients. Diodorus mentions a division into nine as well as eight

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tion comparable, quoique sur une moindre échelle, à la revolution causée par la découverte de l'imprimerie." Tom. I. p. 80.

[9] λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία λανθάνοντα ὑφέλεσθαι δυνάμενος αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν. II. 57.

[10] Thucyd. Pars 2. Vol. I. p. 6.

books[11]; and the Life of Marcellinus states, that there was likewise a division into thirteen books[12], traces of which occur in the Scholia[13]. It is, besides, difficult to see what ground there is for resorting to these conjectures, or why the number *seven* should be pronounced arbitrary and unfounded, and repugnant to the laws of symmetry observed by the ancients in such matters. If *ten* was an admissible number, because there were ten tribes of Attica, and *nine* because there were nine Muses; if writers of the school of Socrates determined the number of books into which they divided their works, not by the convenience of their readers, or the extent of their materials, but by fanciful numerical analogies, worthy of a Pythagorean mystic; why might not the seven wise men of Greece[14], the seven mouths of the Nile, the seven planets[15], the seven Pleiades, the seven strings of the lyre, the seven sons and seven daughters of Niobe[16], or the seven gates of Thebes, serve as a sufficient precedent, and redeem this number from the discredit of being unauthorized and arbitrary? More-

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[11] Ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι γέγραφεν ἐν βιβλίοις ὀκτώ, ὡς δέ τινες διαιροῦσιν, ἐννέα, XII. 37. Compare XIII. 42, where this statement is repeated.

[12] Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὴν πραγματείαν αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν κατέτεμον εἰς τρεισκαίδεκα ἱστορίας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλως. ὅμως δὲ ἡ πλείστη καὶ ἡ κοινὴ κεκράτηκε, τὸ μέχρι τῶν ὀκτὼ διῃρῆσθαι τὴν πραγματείαν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέκρινεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιός. Marcell. *Vit. Thuc. ad fin.* The date of Asclepius is unknown: he wrote likewise upon Demosthenes.

[13] See Westermann on Voss, *de Hist. Gr.* p. 42.

[14] The number of the seven sages had been fixed before Xenophon's time: see Plato Protag. § 82.

[15] See Plato Tim. § 14.

[16] The Niobidæ were seven males and seven females, according to Apollodorus, III. 5. § 6. Euripides likewise spoke of the twice seven children of Niobe in the Cresphontes (fragm. 11), and in the Phœnissæ (v. 161) he places the tomb of the seven daughters near the walls of Thebes. Ovid, likewise, adopts this number, Met. VI. 221, 297–8, and it occurs in the Latin mythographers (II. 71. ed. Bode). The number of the children of Niobe was however variously reported by early writers; Lasus, the master of Pindar, had preceded Euripides in calling them twice seven: Ælian V. H. XII. 36. Euripides says that all the children were killed by Apollo: according to Antipater, *Anth. Plan.* IV. 131, Apollo killed the seven sons and Artemis the seven daughters:—

κούρα γὰρ προύπεμψε κόραις φόνον, ἄρσεσι δ' ἄρσην·
δισσοὶ γὰρ δισσοὶς ἔκτανον ἑβδομάδας.

Amphion, the husband of Niobe, who built the walls of Thebes with his lyre, was said to have given the names of his seven daughters to the seven gates (Hygin. fab. 69. conf. fab. 11). The tomb of the daughters of Niobe is placed by Euripides under the walls of Thebes; but the legend which derived the names of the gates from them is not ancient: see Paus. IX. 8. § 4–7, and Porson *ad Phœn.* 1150. It appears from the account of Pausanias that Thebes really had seven gates. According to Philostr. Imag. I. 10, Onest. *Anth. Pal.* IX. 250, and Schol. Eurip. Phœn. 114, the *number* of the seven gates was borrowed from the seven tones of the lyre with which Amphion built the walls.

over, Xenophon might have remembered that, in order to appease the wrath of Achilles, Agamemnon offered to give him seven new tripods, seven Lesbian damsels, and seven cities in Peloponnesus[17]; and likewise that Ulysses passed seven long years with Calypso in the island of Ogygia[18]. Perhaps too Xenophon in his Asiatic expedition might have heard of those eastern nations in which the septenary division of the week was adopted, as being the quarter of a lunar month[19]. Nor was the number seven unknown to literature in the time of Xenophon. Pherecydes of Syros, the early philosopher, had written a treatise, which, from the nature of its contents (and not from the number of its books) was styled Ἑπτάμυχος, or the *Seven Arcana*[20]. That seven was not the strange and unusual number, which the Greeks are supposed by Niebuhr to have regarded it, is proved by the legend that Cleomenes the Spartan king killed *seven* thousand *seven* hundred and *seventy-seven* Argives in combat; the tradition further sported with this number by supposing a battle on the same occasion to have been fought on the *seventh* of the month, and a *seven* days' truce to have been made and violated by Cleomenes[21]. A more important legendary event, viz. the taking of Troy, was reported by early historians to have taken place on the ἑβδόμῃ φθίνοντος[22]. If however these precedents should not be thought sufficiently domestic and national, and something should be required to outweigh the ten tribes of Attica, we may refer to the seven folds of the shield of the Salaminian Ajax, and especially to the seven youths and seven maidens who were annually sent from Athens to Crete in memory of the mythical age[23]. Pythagoras con-

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[17] Iliad. IX. 264, 270, 291.

[18] Od. VII. 259. It is possible that the period of seven months, during which Orpheus, according to Virgil, mourned Eurydice, was borrowed from some Greek source:—

Septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine menses
Rupe sub aëria, deserti ad Strymonis undam,
Flevisse, &c. *Georg.* IV. 507—9.

[19] See Winer, *Biblisches Real Wörterbuch*, art. *Woche*.

[20] Suidas in Φερεκύδης. See Fragm. Histor. Græc. p. 35. ed. Didot. Callimachus, Del. 65, applies the epithet ἑπτάμυχος to the cave of Boreas. At a later time, the Alexandrines formed two canonical lists of poets,—one tragical, and the other general,—each consisting of seven names, which they called the *Pleiads*: see Matter, *Histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie*, Tom. I. p. 168. (ed. 2.)

[21] Polyæn. VIII. 33. Plutarch *de Mul. Virt.* c. 5. Aristot. *Pol.* V. 3. § 7. Plutarch, *Apophth. Cleomen.* § 2. See Müller's *Dorians*, b. I. ch. 8. § 6. note, and Larcher on Herodotus, VI. 77.

[22] Plutarch. Camill. 19, citing as his authorities Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus. Damastes lived before the Peloponnesian war, and was contemporary with Hellanicus.

[23] Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 1327, Plato *Phædo*, § 2, and Wyttenbach's note. Compare Servius on Æn. VI. 21.

sidered seven as the sacred number of the Athenian goddess[24]. Seven was likewise the sacred number of Apollo: on this day of the month he was born, and on this day he was worshipped at many festivals[25]. Now Apollo, by his oracle concerning Socrates[26], had earned the gratitude of all the disciples of that philosopher; Socrates himself shewed his devotion to the Delphian god by composing a pæan to him[27]; and perhaps Xenophon felt nearly as much veneration for Apollo as for the sister-goddess to whom he dedicated the grove in Scillus[28]. If the reports of an enmity between Xenophon and Plato has no better foundation than that of the enmity between Plato and Aristotle, perhaps the belief that Plato was born on the 7th of Thargelion, the birthday of his supposed divine father, might have removed some of the prejudice which Niebuhr supposes Xenophon to have entertained against the number seven[29]. It was moreover the custom of the Athenians to name children on the seventh day after birth; the reason being, as Aristotle says, that weakly infants commonly die before that day[30]. The seventh days of the moon were likewise celebrated at Athens by convivial meetings of friends[31]. Solon, too, (or some ancient elegiac poet) in some verses still extant, divided the life of man into periods of seven years; assigning ten of these periods

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[24] Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* Vol. I. p. 22. Compare Philo, *de Mund. Opif.* § 33. Philolaus thought that intelligence, health, and light, resided in the number seven: Boeckh's *Philolaos*, p. 150.

[25] Hesiod, Op. 771. Æsch. Theb. 801. Herod. VI. 57. and Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1127, with the note of Hemsterhuis, (Vol. IV. p. 332. ed. Oxon.). Compare Spanheim *ad Callimach. Del.* 251, and Müller's *Dorians*, b. II. ch. 8. § 4 and 5. According to Pindar, Agamedes and Trophonius, having built the temple at Delphi, asked Apollo for a reward. The god returned for answer that he would give it on the *seventh* day. At the close of that day, after having been present at a banquet, they went to sleep and never awoke: Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apollon.* c. 14. Lydus *de Mens.* II. 11, cites an Orphic verse,—

ἑβδόμῃ ἦν ἐφίλησεν ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.

Compare Lobeck, *Aglaopham.* Tom. I. pp. 505, 557, 716.

[26] Plat. Phæd. § 5.

[27] Diog. Laert. II. 42. It may be observed that Cebes, the disciple of Socrates, wrote a dialogue entitled ἑβδόμη, ib. 125.

[28] Anab. V. 3. § 13.

[29] Diog. Laert. III. 2. Plut. *Symp.* VIII. quæst. 1. The birthday of Socrates was celebrated on the 6th of Thargelion, on which day Artemis was said by the Delians to have been born: Diog. Laert. II. 44. Plut. ubi sup. Ælian. V. H. II. 25. Artemis was supposed to have been born before her brother, Apollod. I. 4. § 1, and the passages cited by Spanheim *ad Callim. Del.* 255.

[30] Harpocrat. in ἑβδομευομένου and Aristot. *Hist. An.* VII. 12, cited by him, also Hesych. in ἑβδόμαι, and *Etym. Magn.* in ἑβδομευόμενα. Compare Meurs. *Gr. Feriat.* in ἀμφιδρόμια. Amongst the Jews, circumcision took place upon the *eighth* day after birth.

[31] Is in conviviis juvenum, quæ agitare Athenis hebdomadibus lunæ solemne nobis fuit, &c. Gellius N. A. XV. 2.

to human existence[32]. This division is alluded to by Aristotle, as made by some of the poets[33]; and it was adopted by the author of one of the Hippocratic treatises, who however allowed only nine septenary periods, or κλιμακτῆρες[34]. Hence originated the importance attributed in antiquity to the sixty-third or grand climacteric year[35].

So little do the ancients who speculate on the virtues of numbers confirm Niebuhr's views as to the arbitrary and unfounded character of the number seven, that they seem, on the contrary, to consider it the most absolute and perfect of all numbers. To say nothing of Philo, who may be thought to have a national and religious bias, Gellius, Censorinus and Macrobius, can scarcely find words to describe its manifold virtues, and to unfold the mysteries which it contains. Cicero in his *Somnium Scipionis*, had said that "seven is the master key of all things[36];" and Macrobius, in commenting upon the words, fully supports this exalted view of the properties of the septenary number. He under-

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[32] Solon, fragm. 14. ed. Gaisford, who mentions (*Poet. Min.* Vol. I. p. 337), that Porson considered the verses to have been fabricated by a Jew or Christian; relying principally on the ground that the phrase ἕρκος ὀδόντων is used to signify *teeth*, and not in the Homeric sense of lips. (Compare Porson's *Tracts*, p. 207). Nitzsch, Odyss. Vol. I. p. 21, thinks that ἕρκος ὀδόντων in Homer means the teeth, and does not admit that the argument derived from the use of the expression in these verses justifies their rejection. Heyne likewise is of opinion that ἕρκος ὀδόντων in Homer means the teeth: see his note on Iliad IV. 340, (Vol. IV. p. 621). Schneidewin, fragm. 23, and Bergk, fragm. 25, the two last editors of Solon, do not appear to condemn these verses. It is evident from the passage of the Politics of Aristotle cited in the next note, that the division of human life into hebdomads had been mentioned by some early poet.

[33] Polit. VII. 16. § 17. 17. § 15.

[34] The treatise περὶ ἑβδομάδων; see Littré, *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, Tom. I. pp. 384–410, who has discovered in the Bibliothèque du Roi a Latin translation of this lost treatise. He considers the author of it as posterior to the great Hippocrates, (p. 407,) and as identical with the author of the treatise περὶ σαρκῶν, where the septenary division of human life likewise occurs. This division was so diffused in antiquity, that, according to Varro, the life of man was, in the *libri fatales* of the Etruscans, made to consist of twelve hebdomades, Censorin. *de die nat.* c. 14. Compare Müller's *Etrusker*, Vol. II. p. 31. According to Plutarch, *De. Plac. Philos.* V. 23, Heraclitus and the Stoics thought that man reached his perfection at the end of the second hebdomad.

[35] Censorin. ubi sup. Gellius XV. 7. Plin. *H. N.* VII. 50. Concerning the climacteric years (in the determination of which the septenary and novenary numbers played the chief part) and their connexion with astrology and other unreal sciences, see the long and learned dissertation of Salmasius, *De annis climactericis et antiqua astrologia Diatribæ*, Lugd. Bat. 1648, 8vo. The belief in the great climacteric year is laboriously refuted by Sir T. Browne in his *Vu Errors*, IV. 12.

[36] Qui numerus rerum fere on nodus est. § 5.

takes to prove that no other number is so prolific of admirable qualities[37], and he performs this promise by expatiating upon its various excellencies. According to him, the heavens, and the earth, and all that is upon the earth, are full of sevens. The motions of the heavenly bodies are determined by this number; the age of man, and his bodily organization [38], are regulated by the same standard. "Tot virtutibus insignitus septenarius (he concludes by saying) quas vel de partibus suis mutuatur, vel totus exercet, jure plenus et habetur et dicitur." Philo, in like manner, enlarges at great length on the virtues of this number [39]; and after having remarked that the Latin *septem* is derived from σεμνὸς and σεβασμὸς, he winds up his discussion by saying that this number has the utmost importance in outward nature, and that it is treated with honour by the most distinguished of the Greeks and barbarians, who cultivate the science of mathematics [40]. Varro had likewise written a treatise entitled *Hebdomades*, of which a summary account is given by Gellius; the object of its first book was, (as the latter writer states, and shews by examples) to enumerate the manifold virtues and powers of the septenary number [41]. If therefore Xenophon had been in search of some casual association or analogy to justify the division of his Hellenics into seven books, he need not have been at a loss, even if we suppose that many of the fancies just mentioned had not originated in his lifetime.

Furthermore, on looking to the number of books in the other works of Xenophon, as well as those of other writers, we cannot trace any such numerical symmetry as Niebuhr supposes. The Anabasis of Xenophon has seven books, as well as the Hellenics;

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[37] Singularum compagum membra tractemus; ex quibus fatebimur nullum alium numerum *tam varia esse majestate fœcundum*. Macrob. in *Somn. Scip.* I. 6.

[38] Macrobius and Gellius III. 10, both observe that man cannot live without food beyond seven days. Dante seems to make Ugolino die on the seventh day: *Inf.* XXIII. 70-5.

[39] τί γὰρ οὐ φιλέβδομον (he says) τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μέρος, ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ δαμασθὲν ἑβδομάδος; § 38.

[40] De mundi Opif. § 42, 43. That is to say, those who cultivated mathematics for *astrological* purposes. Gellius III. 10, mentions that the climacteric periods were used by the Chaldeans.

[41] Septenarii numeri virtutes potestatesque multas variasque dicit. Gell. III. 10. Hierocles in *Aur. Carm.* p. 222 (ed. Warren), likewise eulogises this number: μονάδος (he says) καὶ ἑβδομάδος τὰ ἰδιώματα κάλλιστά εἰσι καὶ ἄριστα. Hermippus of Berytus, who lived in the time of Hadrian, also composed a treatise περὶ ἑβδομάδος. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI. p. 291. It seems not inappropriate that he likewise wrote a history of dreams. Voss, *de Hist. Gr.* II. 12. p. 263. ed. Westermann. Compare the passages of Chalcidius and Eulogius, cited by Littré, ubi sup. p. 394-5, and Lydus *de Mens.* II. 11, III. 6. See also Martin, *Etudes sur le Timée de Platon*, Tom. II. p. 35.

this number has likewise been adopted by Arrian for his history of the Anabasis of Alexander, probably after the model of Xenophon. The first part of the Sicilian history of Philistus consisted, according to Diodorus[42], of seven books. In other cases, the numbers of books appear, to use Niebuhr's expression, quite "arbitrary and unfounded," and to have no traceable connexion with civil or natural divisions. The Cyropædia consists of eight books, the Hellenics and Anabasis (as has been already stated) each contain seven books, the Memorabilia four books. Theopompus, who, like Xenophon, wrote a σύνταξις Ἑλληνικῶν, in which he continued the history of Thucydides to the battle of Cnidus in 394 B.C. is said to have divided his work into twelve books[43]. His history of Philip consisted of fifty-eight books[44]. The history of Ephorus was distributed into thirty books[45]: of the work of Timæus, the 38th book is cited by Suidas[46]. The Atthis of Philochorus consisted of seventeen books. The *Origines* of Cato, the *Gallic war* of Cæsar, and the *Jewish war* of Josephus, were each divided into seven books; perhaps however Niebuhr would have said that the Roman writers borrowed their number from the seven Roman kings, the seven hills of the city, or the seven jugera of a plebeian; and that the Jewish historian was influenced in his choice by the sacred institution of the week. But upon what principle of numerical symmetry or national association are we to account for the eighteen books of the annals of Ennius, the hundred and forty-two books of Livy, or the seventeen books of Silius Italicus? Without pursuing this enumeration farther, it may be safely affirmed, that no trace of any constant principle, derived either from numerical symmetry, or from natural or civil divisions, can be shewn to have been observed by the ancient writers in determining the number of the books into which their works were distributed.

Even therefore upon the grounds assumed by Niebuhr, his numerical argument is extremely doubtful. It is however open to objection upon another account. It proceeds throughout upon the assumption that the divisions of books, as we have them, in the writings of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and the other

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[42] XIII. 103. The *Epidemiæ* and the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates are likewise each divided into seven books.

[43] Diod. XIII. 42.

[44] Clinton *F. H.* Vol. II, p. 374. C. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Fragm.* p. lxviii.

[45] Diod. XVI. 26.

[46] In ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ. (fr. 14 Didot.)

early Greek writers, proceed from the authors themselves, and rest upon the same authority as their text. I propose to examine what reasons there are for this assumption.

Confining ourselves to the internal evidence furnished by the form of the work itself, or by the references made by the author in the text to preceding or subsequent parts of it; we shall find that there is no trace of a division of books in any extant work of a writer anterior to the age of Alexander. In the writings of this period, there are, in general, no formal endings or beginnings of books; and there is, in no case, any reference to a book by its number, or any mention of the distribution of the work into books. There are indeed certain pauses or resting-places in the narrative or argument, where the writer shortly recapitulates what has preceded, or announces what is to follow; and these occur occasionally at the beginning of a book according to our division: but there is every appearance of the work having been composed in a continuous tenor, like a speech or a written discourse intended for recitation.

To begin with Herodotus; he announces, in his short proem, the subject of his history, *ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε*, and the motive with which he writes it, (much in the same simple manner in which Hecatæus of Miletus began his historical work of *γενεηλογίαι*[47];) but he says nothing in it about any division into books; nor is there, at the beginnings or endings of the nine books as we have them, any trace of these divisions having been made by the author himself. The first sentence of the 6th book may be particularly referred to[48], as connecting closely with the last sentence of the preceding book. There is moreover no formal conclusion to the entire work, referring to any division of books. Herodotus indeed sometimes cites his own work, in a manner which at first sight appears to imply a division of this sort. Thus in II. 38, he says the Egyptian priests ascertained if a bull is sacred by examining if its tongue is pure in respect of certain marks, *τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω*, referring to III. 28. In V. 36, he says, speaking of the treasures in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, *τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωταί μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων*, referring to I. 92. In VI. 19, he says of the same temple, *τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ*

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[47] *Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι ἀληθέα δοκέει εἶναι*, &c. fr. 332. ed. Didot.

[48] *Ἀρισταγόρης μέν νυν Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας, οὕτω τελευτᾷ.* The slaughter of Aristagoras in Thrace is narrated in the last sentence of b. V.

τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἑτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην, referring to I. 92. II. 159. and the last passage. Speaking of the Carians, in VII. 93, he says, οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων εἴρηται, referring to I. 171. In VII. 213, he promises to explain subsequently the cause of the assassination of Ephialtes by Athenadas, δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσιν ὄπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω; but he forgets to fulfil his promise. In I. 75, however, he makes a similar promise with respect to the cause of the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus, δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσιν ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω, and he proceeds shortly afterwards to give the explanation, I. 107—30. Most of these passages are cited by Wesseling, in his preface to Herodotus[49] as examples of references made by Herodotus to the *books* of his history. Schweighæuser, however, properly remarks that Herodotus must not be understood in these passages as calling each of the nine books of his history a λόγος; the word, as here used, signifies *history*, or *narration*, generally; as when Hecatæus is called a λογοποιὸς, II. 143. V. 36 and 125, *i. e.* a *historian;* again, in VI. 137, he quotes Ἑκαταῖος ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, *in his history*; and in VII. 152, he says, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον; i. e. *to my entire history.* Accordingly, Schweighæuser adds, when Herodotus says that he will speak of anything ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, he sometimes understands a part of the same book; thus the subject which he promises in VI. 39 to explain ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, occurs in c. 103 of the sixth book. In like manner when Pausanias III. 2. § 3, cites Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροῖσον, he means to quote that part of his history which relates to Crœsus. In confirmation of these arguments it may be further observed, that if in V. 36 Herodotus had meant to refer to the first book of his history, he would have said, not ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων, but ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων, or rather ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ. It is plain that by this plural expression he refers generally to the preceding part of his work, as he refers generally to the subsequent part by the expressions οἱ ὄπισθε or ὀπίσω λόγοι, I. 75. VII. 213.[50]

The allusion in Lucian proves that Herodotus was not at the time of that writer supposed to have himself given the nar[illegible]

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[49] P. VII. ed. Gaisford, (Vol. I. of the notes).

[50] Compare Schweigh. *Lex. Herod.* in λόγος, No. 3. For the use of λογοποιὸς in the sense of a *historian*, [illegible] mentators on Herod. V. 3[illegible] notes 2 an[illegible] mann, *He*[illegible]

the Muses to the nine books of his history[51]. Larcher remarks that Porphyry, Athenæus, Harpocration, and Aulus Gellius, quote the books of Herodotus simply by the numbers; and that this appellation probably originated with the later grammarians. It may be added, that the author of the Ἡροδότου λέξεις knows nothing of the names of the Muses, but arranges his λέξεις by the *numbers* of the books[52]. Larcher observes that Photius, (cod. 68) describes a historical compendium by a writer named Cephalion, of the time from Ninus and Semiramis to Alexander the Great, which was in nine books, bearing the names of the Muses[53].

The history of Thucydides, like that of Herodotus, is devoid of all marks of a division of books. The introduction of the work contains no intimation of any such division; and the beginnings and endings of books, as we have them, are not such as to render it probable that the history was divided into parts by the author. The entire first book is introductory, and the second book appears to be divided from it by a sensible break; but the beginnings of the second, third, and fourth books are not separated by a wider interval from the end of the preceding books, than that which separates c. 71 of b. II., c. 26 and c. 89 of b. III., or c. 52 of b. IV. from the preceding chapters. A similar remark applies to the remaining books; and although the concluding part of the history was left in an unfinished state by Thucydides, this fact affords no reason for supposing that it formed a separate book. Roscher, in his work on Thucydides, has observed, that the eighth book is cited by the contemporary Cratippus, not as the eighth book, but by the general description of τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς ἱστορίας[54]. It

[51] Οὐ θεατὴν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν, ᾄδων τὰς ἱστορίας, καὶ κηλῶν τοὺς παρόντας, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτὰς οὔσας. Lucian, Herod. c. 1, where see Du Soul's note, Vol. IV. p. 482. ed. Lehmann. Compare *Quom. Hist. Conscrib.* c. 42.

[52] See Gaisford's edition of the notes, Vol. II. p. 1123.

[53] *Hérodote*, Tom. III. p. 263 (note on III. 1). The names of the Muses in this work were arranged in the following order:—1. Clio, 2. Thalia. 3. Polymnia, 4. Melpomene, 5. Terpsichore, 6. Euterpe, 7. Calliope, 8. Erato, 9. Urania. In our copies of Herodotus they stand in the same order as in Hesiod. *Theog.* 77. Apollodorus, I. 3. § 1, has an order different from either of these. The names of the Muses were in the copy of Herodotus read by Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. 60 (p. 19. a. 17. Bekker).

[54] Ap. Dionys. *de Thucyd. Judic.* c. 16. It is observable that as soon as Dionysius proceeds to speak in his own words, he names the books of Thucydides by their numbers: εἴ γέ τοι τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην βίβλον ἀντιπαραξεταίζοι τις ἀλλήλαις, ibid. Dionysius elsewhere cites the books of Thucydides, as they are divided in our copies; see c. 28, 36, 42, 43. Concerning the date of Cratippus, see Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. II. p. 373.

has moreover been already remarked that a division into *nine*, as well as *eight* books, was known to Diodorus[55]; and that there was likewise another division into thirteen; so that the division into books appears to have been made differently in different editions by the ancient grammarians.

The works of Xenophon which were extant in the time of Diogenes Laertius are stated by that writer to have amounted to nearly forty books[56]. He proceeds to enumerate the works as we have them; and reckoning each of the small treatises as one book, and adding together the separate books of the larger works, the sum is thirty-seven; which agrees closely with the expression of Diogenes. He states, however, that there were other divisions; which proves, as in the case of Thucydides, that there being no authentic division, different editors divided the works differently. The Hellenics, the Memorabilia, and the Cyropædia, contain no internal traces of any division of books made by the author. The Cyropædia, in particular, has every appearance of being written continuously; there is no pause, or recapitulation, at the beginning of any book, but the connexion with the last sentence of the preceding book is intimate. With respect, however, to the Anabasis, the case is somewhat different; there being in it the nearest approach to a division into books by the author which is to be found in any extant work earlier than the history of Polybius. The statement of Diogenes, that Xenophon made an introduction to each book of the Anabasis, but not of the entire work[57], is nearly correct. The history plunges at once *in medias res* with the parentage of Artaxerxes and Cyrus; but the second book, which begins shortly after the battle of Cunaxa, has a formal commencement as follows:—

ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στραπόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

Book III. has a similar, though shorter procemium:—

Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι

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[55] Above, p. 6.

[56] *Συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία πρὸς τὰ τετταράκοντα, ἄλλων ἄλλως διαιρούντων.* II. 57, where *πρὸς τὰ τεττ.* does not, as Menage says, mean ginta.

[57] *τήν τε Ἀνάβασ μὲν ἐποίησε προοίμι*

τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

There are similar prefaces to books IV. and V.; the former beginning *ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης*, the latter *ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες*, and both ending with the words, *ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.*

The sixth book has no introduction, and proceeds continuously with the end of the fifth. The absence of an introduction induced Schneider (after Muretus) to reject the division of the manuscripts, and to place the beginning of b. III. at the third chapter, on account of its opening sentence, which is as follows: *ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἥ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς κατελύθη καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στράτευμα ἐσχίσθη ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἴρηται.* This sentence is however wanting in the five best manuscripts, and is deservedly rejected as spurious by L. Dindorf. The Parisian editors of Stephens' Thesaurus adduce examples of this use of *ἐπάνω*, from Strabo and the Homeric scholia, and also from recent inscriptions; but it occurs in no writer of the age of Xenophon.

The 7th book opens with the following sentence: *ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεζῇ ἐξιόντες καὶ πλέοντες ἐποίησαν μέχρι ἕξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.*

On perusing these proems to the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 7th books of the Anabasis, it will be observed that Xenophon evidently intended them to be halting-places in the narrative; where he recapitulated the heads of the previous transactions, for the convenience of the reader. But his recapitulation in each case takes up the events from the very beginning of the work, and is not limited to the contents of the preceding book. This is apparent in every introduction, down to that of the last book, in which, as in the others, he begins by recapitulating the events in the expedition into Asia with Cyrus before the battle of Cunaxa. It is therefore plain that the words *ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται* must be rendered, "has been shewn in the previous *part of the history*," and not, "in the preceding *book*[58];" and that the idiom corresponds closely with

[58] At the beginning of b. II. Spelman translates inaccurately, 'In the *foregoing book* we have shewn.' In the subsequent books the necessity of the case led him to translate correctly. Thus in b. III. he translates, 'In the *foregoing discourse*

that of Herodotus, already explained and illustrated with examples. The introductions in the Anabasis, therefore, negative the supposition that Xenophon himself divided the work into books distinguished by numbers. If he had done so, he would probably, like Diodorus, in recapitulating the former transactions at the outset of a book, have confined himself to the facts narrated in the book immediately preceding, and not, at each successive pause, have taken up the incidents from the very beginning of the history[59]. Nevertheless, the proems in the Anabasis shew a disposition to break the continuous flow of the narration, such as we find it in Herodotus and Thucydides, and also in Xenophon's own Hellenics, by certain formal divisions; and the distance from such resting-places to a numerical division of books could not be very great[60].

The Dialogues of Plato are not divided into books, with the exception of the Republic and the Laws. In the manuscripts which have come down to us, the first of those dialogues is divided into ten, and the second into twelve books. This division is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius[61]. Suidas says that a philosopher named Philip of Opus, (who is stated by Diogenes Laertius[62] to have transcribed the Laws from the waxen tablets and published them,) divided this dialogue into twelve books, whereas Plato had himself divided it into thirteen[63]. This report is confidently rejected

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we have related;' in b. IV. 'We have *hitherto* given an account of what happened,' &c.; in b. V. 'We have *hitherto* related the actions of the Greeks,' &c.; in b. VII. 'The *preceding discourse* contains a relation of the actions of the Greeks,' &c.

[59] See for example, Diod. XI. 1, and XII. 2.

[60] Xenophon was about 42 years old in 401 B.C., and consequently was born about 443. He is stated to have died in 359.

[61] τῆς μὲν Πολιτείας εἰς δέκα διαιρουμένης,...τῶν δὲ Νόμων εἰς δυοκαίδεκα. III. 57.

[62] Ἔνιοί τέ φασιν ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Ὀπούντιος τοὺς Νόμους αὐτοῦ μετέγραψεν ὄντας ἐν κηρῷ. III. 37. He was a disciple of Plato, ib. 46. It is difficult to understand how a work of the magnitude of the Laws could have been all standing at the same time on waxen tablets. They were used, even in Horace's time, for composition, on account of the facility which they afforded for corrections and erasures; but it is scarcely conceivable that a long work, occupying an octavo volume of print, should have been kept on wax. Waxen tablets would be used for such a purpose as the revision of the first sentence of the Republic, according to the story already noticed; but could scarcely have served for recording a long work. Galen, *de Respir. Difficult.* III. 1, says that the second, fourth, and sixth books of the *Epidemiæ* were found by Thessalus the son of Hippocrates, on the διφθέραι or δέλτοι of his father, and were published by him with additions. Compare Littré, *Oeuvres d'Hippocrate*, Tom. I. p. 160 and 364.

[63] Suidas in φιλόσοφος. Boeckh *in Platonis Minoem*, p. 73, observes that the words Φίλιππος Ὀπούντιος are to be supplied at the beginning of the article.

by Boeckh[64]. There is no internal mark of the division of books in the Republic and Laws having been made by Plato himself; the great length of these dialogues, as compared with that of the others, doubtless induced the grammarians to divide them, for the convenience of reference. Aristotle, who gives a detailed criticism of the Republic, and also of the Laws, in the second book of his Politics, never cites any book by its number, but refers to the work generally[65].

The philosophical treatises of Aristotle had, in the time of Diogenes Laertius, been all divided into books, as may be seen in his list of the writings of that philosopher[66]. But they are wholly devoid of internal evidence that these divisions were made by Aristotle himself. The absence of any internal marks of such divisions is in this instance the more convincing, as a negative proof, on account of the number and length of the extant treatises, and the great care with which the subject of the work is set forth, and the branches of the argument are distinguished[67]. Aristotle is so precise and systematic a writer, and bestows so much labour upon the arrangement of his materials, that it is scarcely credible that he should not have availed himself of the convenient practice of dividing his works into books distinguished by numbers, if such a practice had been introduced in his time.

As an example of the absence of all internal evidence of a division into books, we may take the Nicomachean Ethics, which in our copies consists of ten books. The final sentence of b. III. ought to be read continuously with the first sentence of b. IV. in order to show the grammatical construction: *ταῦτ' οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω περὶ σωφροσύνης· λέγωμεν δ' ἑξῆς περὶ ἐλευθεριότητος, δοκεῖ δ' εἶναι, &c.*

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[64] Ibid. p. 74.

[65] Pol. II. 1-6. In II. 9. § 34, he cites Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις; in IV. 7. § 1, Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς Πολιτείαις; and in VIII. 7. § 9, Σωκράτης ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ. Aristotle, in his criticism of the Republic of Plato, quotes its doctrines as the opinions not of Plato himself, but of Socrates. Goettling *ad Aristot. Pol.* p. 317, thinks that Aristotle mentions Socrates instead of Plato, 'non sine cavillatione quadam.' I confess I can see no ground for this supposition. In the first place, there is nothing to shew that the arguments and opinions of the Republic are not in substance the genuine arguments and opinions of Socrates. We may be sure that there was *some* foundation for the reputation of heterodox opinions in philosophy which he acquired amongst his contemporaries. But, even if this should be thought improbable, we may reasonably suppose that Aristotle cited the opinions of Socrates as being that part of the dialogue which represented the genuine opinions of Plato himself.

[66] V. 21-7.

[67] See below, p. 24, the curious account of the remarks of Aristotle upon Plato's neglect to state the subject of his discourses, given by Aristoxenus.

The last words of b. IV. connect in like manner closely with the beginning of b. V. The same is likewise the case with the end of b. V. and the beginning of b. VI. *περὶ μὲν οὖν δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἠθικῶν ἀρετῶν διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τυγχάνομεν πρότερον εἰρηκότες*, &c., where *ἐπεὶ δὲ* answers to *περὶ μὲν οὖν*. The initial words of the seventh book, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λεκτέον, ἄλλην ποιησαμένους ἀρχήν*, are placed by the Laurentian MS., the best manuscript of this treatise, at the end of the preceding book[68]; although the sense requires them in the place where they stand. It appears certain that chapters 12—5 of b. VII. do not belong to the Nicomachean Ethics; inasmuch as the subject of pleasure is treated more fully lower down[69]. If these chapters are omitted, the final sentence of c. 11 connects with the beginning of b. VIII. *τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐγκράτεια καὶ τί ἀκρασία καὶ τί καρτερία καὶ τί μαλακία, καὶ πῶς ἔχουσιν αἱ ἕξεις αὗται πρὸς ἀλλήλας εἴρηται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ φιλίας ἑπωιτ' ἂν διελθεῖν*. The last words of c. 15 as they stand are *λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ φιλίας ἐροῦμεν*; and some editor or copyist, observing that they did not connect well with the beginning of the next book, altered them to the reading which stands in two of Bekker's manuscripts: *λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ φιλίας ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιόν τι καὶ τίς ὁ φίλος*. The connexion is equally close between the end of b. VIII. and the beginning of b. IX. *περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἴρηται· ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀνομοιοειδέσι φιλίαις*, &c., where two of Bekker's MSS. omit *οὖν*. The end of b. IX. taken in connexion with the first words of b. X. produces a repetition, unless the words which I have inserted in brackets may be rejected as a mere variation of the succeeding clause: *περὶ μὲν οὖν φιλίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· [ἑπόμενον δ' ἂν εἴη διελθεῖν περὶ ἡδονῆς] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ ἡδονῆς ἴσως ἕπεται διελθεῖν*[70]. At the end of the first book of the Rhetoric the words *περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀτεχνῶν πίστεων εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα*, are absent from the best manuscript, and are marked as spurious in the Oxford edition of 1826, which is understood to contain the recension of Dr. Gaisford. That they are not genuine is shewn by the first sentence of the next book, which begins *ἐκ τούτων μὲν οὖν*, &c. The repetition of the same particles betrays the interpolator.

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[68] The collation in Bekker's edition (who marks this MS. as K^b) agrees in this respect with the collection in Dr. Cardwell's edition, except that the latter states that *δὲ* is omitted.

[69] See Casaubon's note on VII. 11, in Cardwell's edition, Vol. II. p. 216.

[70] The absence of any mark of division between the first and second books of the Great Ethics is a circumstance in favour, if not of their genuineness, at least of their comparative antiquity.

The second book of the Rhetoric closes as follows: *ὑπὲρ μὲν παραδειγμάτων καὶ γνωμῶν καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ ὅλως τῶν περὶ τὴν διανοίαν, ὅθεν τε εὐπορήσομεν, καὶ ὡς αὐτὰ λύσομεν, εἰρήσθω ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα· λοιπὸν δὲ διελθεῖν περὶ λέξεως καὶ τάξεως.* Book III. then begins *ἐπειδὴ τρία ἐστὶν, ἃ δεῖ πραγματευθῆναι*, &c. Three of Bekker's MSS. make no division between the second and third books of the Rhetoric, but write them continuously: two MSS. have on the margin the following note: *ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχονται λατῖνοι τοῦ τρίτου τῶν ῥητορικῶν ἀριστοτέλους βιβλίων.* It is therefore certain that there were in antiquity different divisions of Aristotle's Rhetoric; and the division commonly received amongst the Greeks was probably into two books. It is however remarkable that Dionysius of Halicarnassus quotes Aristotle's remarks on rhythm, *ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν τεχνῶν*, (*De Comp. Verb.* c. 25) where he clearly refers to ch. 8 of the third book according to the division which the above marginal note attributes to the *Latins*[71]. Diogenes Laertius appears to recognize only the division into *two* books[72]. It may be added that if, in dividing the third book of the Rhetoric from the second, the incision had been made at the point chosen for several of the books of the Nicomachean Ethics, the third book would have begun with the words *λοιπὸν δὲ διελθεῖν περὶ λέξεως*[73].

It is to be further noted that Aristotle, in quoting other treatises of his own, merely mentions the title, without any adjunct. Thus in Rhet. I. 1. § 12. *ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς* Τοπικοῖς *ἐλέγομεν περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐντεύξεως.* Ib. 2. § 8. *δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν* Ἀναλυτικῶν. Ib. § 10. *καθάπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς* Μεθοδικοῖς *εἴρηται καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁμοίως ἔχει.* § 14. *δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν* Ἀναλυτικῶν. § 18. *ἐν τοῖς* Ἀναλυτικοῖς *διώρισται.* See similar citations of the Analytics, ib. II. 25. § 12. 14. In III. 2. he twice cites the Poetic. § 5. *τῶν δὲ ὀνομάτων τοσαῦτ' ἐχόντων εἴδη ὅσα τεθεώρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιήσεως*: and § 7. *τί μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστι..... εἴρηται, καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ* Ποιητικῆς. In the Politics, speaking of happiness he says: *φαμὲν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς* Ἠθικοῖς, *εἴ τι τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄφελος, ἐνέργειαν εἶναι καὶ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείαν*, VII. 13. § 5; and lower down,

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[71] The note at the beginning of the last book of the History of Animals, in Bekker's edition, shews that there was also a difference between the Latin and Greek editions of that work.

[72] V. 24, and see Menage's note. *Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν τεχνῶν* is cited by Sextus Empiricus *adv. Mathem.* II. § 8.

[73] The divisions of chapters made by the modern editors sometimes separate clauses which ought to be read together. See for example, *Eth. Nic.* I. 3 and 4.

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διώρισται κατὰ τοὺς ἠθικοὺς λόγους, § 7; in both cases referring to the Nicomachean Ethics. In the same treatise he cites the Poetic: τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον. VIII. 7. § 3. In the Metaphysics, VI. 12. § 1, he cites the Analytics: νῦν δὲ λέγωμεν πρῶτον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς Ἀναλυτικοῖς περὶ ὁρισμοῦ μὴ εἴρηται. In the Eudemian Ethics, I. 6. § 7, he likewise cites the Analytics: ἔστι γὰρ δὶα ψεύδους ἀληθὲς δεῖξαι· δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀναλυτικῶν. The History of Animals is cited by various titles in the Treatise on the Parts of Animals, (see II. 1. and 17. III. 5 and 14. IV. 5. 8. 10. and 13); and the Treatise on the Parts of Animals is cited in the Treatise on the Generation of Animals: εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ταῖς περὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν ζῴων. V. 3. § 6. In the same treatise the treatises on the soul and the senses are twice cited: ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τούτων ἔτι πρότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς διωρισμένοις, V. 1. § 22: and again c. 7. § 27. In all these, and other similar citations, Aristotle refers to his treatise generally, without specifying, by means of a book, the part of it in which the matter referred to occurs. Moreover, Aristotle repeatedly refers backwards and forwards to other parts of the same treatise; and in so doing, he never cites any book. If he had been able in this simple manner to indicate the part of the treatise to which he alluded, he would have avoided the descriptive periphrases to which he was forced to resort. Thus in the Politics, VI. 1. § 10. καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς φθορὰς καὶ τὰς σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴρηται πρότερον, referring to b. V; which resembles the mode of citing Homer employed by the early writers[74]. In VI. 2. § 6. he says more precisely, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης, where the reference is to IV. 4. § 30. 6. § 5. 15. § 13. In VI. 4. § 1. Δημοκρατιῶν δ' οὐσῶν τεττάρων, βελτίστη μὲν ἡ πρώτη τάξει, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐλέχθη λόγοις, he refers to IV. 4. § 22. In III. 18. § 1. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐδείχθη λόγοις ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι καὶ πολίτου τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἀρίστης, the reference seems to be to III. 4. In IV. 2. § 1. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μεθόδῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν διειλόμεθα τρεῖς μὲν τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, &c. where the reference is to III. 7. In the work on the Parts of Animals, he says, pleonastically, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις, V. 1. § 5.

The passages just cited from the Politics, shew that neither

[74] Below, p. 33.

μέθοδος nor λόγος, as used therein, can signify a *book;* at least, the reference is not to books according to the existing division. In the sixth book, the μέθοδος ἡ πρὸ ταύτης, and οἱ πρὸ τούτων λόγοι, referred to, are in the fourth book of our division; and the πρώτη μέθοδος περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, cited in the fourth book, is in the third book. Moreover, the use of the word μέθοδος in Aristotle, (which is of frequent occurrence), excludes the idea that it denotes any *external* division of the subject[75]. It may be added, that Aristotle is so much in the habit of referring from one part of his writings to another, that even distinct treatises were conceived by him as intimately connected together. Thus the last chapter of the Nico-

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[75] The meaning of μέθοδος in Aristotle is well explained by Biese, *Philosophie des Aristoteles*, Vol. I. p. 170, note. According to a definition of Alexander, adduced by Simplicius (as cited by Biese), μεθόδος is πᾶσα ἕξις θεωρητικὴ τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτὴν μετὰ λόγου, or ἡ μετὰ ὁδοῦ τινὸς εὐτάκτου πρόοδος ἐπὶ τὸ γνωστόν: in other words, scientific investigation or treatment; in this sense it occurs in *Rhet.* I. 1. § 10, τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσης μεθόδου περὶ τὰ δημηγορικὰ καὶ δικανικά; and ib. § 11, ἡ μὲν ἔντεχνος μέθοδος περὶ τὰς πίστεις ἐστίν. The Nicom. Ethics begin πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μεθόδος, the work on the Parts of Animals, περὶ πᾶσαν θεωρίαν τε καὶ μέθοδον; where μέθοδος may be rendered *science* or *system*. Similarly in *Pol.* III. 8. § 1, τῷ περὶ ἑκάστην μέθοδον φιλοσοφοῦντι. Sometimes it signifies strictly the mode or method of treatment; thus *Pol.* I. 1. § 3, κατὰ τὴν ὑφηγημένην μέθοδον; and *Eth. N.* V. 1. § 2, ἡ δὲ σκέψις ἡμῖν ἔστω κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν μέθοδον τοῖς προειρημένοις. More frequently however it denotes the treatment of the subject in hand: thus in *Eth. Eud.* I. 6. § 3, he says that there is a difference between scientific and popular arguments, περὶ ἑκάστην μέθοδον, *i. e.* 'in the treatment of each subject.' In *Eth. Nic.* I. 7, he remarks that accuracy ought to be required only so far as is οἰκεῖον τῇ μεθόδῳ, 'suitable to the treatment of the subject.' In *Pol.* VI. 1. § 7, he says, being about to treat of democracy, λεπτέον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον πάντα τὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθεῖν, 'for the treatment of this subject all the characteristics and consequences of democracies must be collected.' Ib. VII. 1. § 14, he says that he has summarily discussed the question of the best life for a citizen and a community; but with regard to objectors, ἐάσαντας τῆς νῦν μεθόδου, 'dropping the treatment of the subject for the present,' he must take it up hereafter. Lower down, c. 2. § 4, having promised to enquire whether it is better for a man to engage in public life, or to keep aloof from it, he says, that this is a question not of ethics, but of politics; and as he is writing a political investigation, ἐκεῖνο μὲν παράργον ἂν εἴη, τοῦτο δ' ἔργον τῆς μεθόδου ταύτης, *i. e.* 'it belongs properly to the treatment of the present subject.' Hence, in such passages as *Eth. N.* I. 1, ἡ μὲν οὖν μέθοδος τούτων ἐφίεται, πολιτική τις οὖσα, and *De Gen. An.* V. 3, δηλῶσαι τῆς μεθόδου τῆς νῦν ἐστίν, its meaning is nearly equivalent to 'treatise.' It may be added, that Aristotle wrote a logical work, entitled Μεθοδικά, which is cited in *Rhet.* I. 2. § 10. Diogenes Laert. V. 29, classes it with the Topics, as containing a store of probable arguments for discussion.—From the preceding examples, it is evident that, in the passages of the Politics cited in the text, μέθοδος cannot mean a book, in the sense of a portion of the written composition; but that its signification closely approximates to *treatise* or *discussion*.

machean Ethics contains a transition to the Politics, and ends with the words λέγωμεν οὖν ἀρξάμενοι[76]; and the conclusion of the short treatise περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων must be considered as an epilogue to all his logical works: so the work on the Generation of Animals begins by referring to the subject of the Parts of Animals as already treated; and the *Parva Naturalia* begin with a similar reference to the Treatise on the Soul[77].

The two extant treatises of Theophrastus are, like the works of his master, devoid of marks of a division into books. There is the same absence of a mention of books in the references to other parts of the treatise, and the same appearance of close connexion between the final and initial sentences of the consecutive books. Thus b. I. of the *History of Plants* concludes with the following words: ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰς μὲν τῶν μορίων διαφορὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐσιῶν ἐκ τούτων πειρατέον θεωρεῖν· περὶ δὲ τῶν γενέσεων μετὰ ταῦτα λεκτέον. τοῦτο γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστίν. B. III. in like manner concludes thus: περὶ μὲν οὖν δένδρων καὶ θάμνων εἴρηται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς περὶ τῶν λειπομένων λεκτέον. B. VI. begins as follows: περὶ μὲν οὖν δένδρων καὶ θάμνων εἴρηται πρότερον· ἑπόμενον δ' εἰπεῖν περί τε τῶν φρυγανικῶν καὶ ποωδῶν, &c. It may be likewise observed, that the end of b. IV. reads continuously with the beginning of b. V. and the end of b. VI. with the beginning of b. VII.[78] The work *de Causis Plantarum* opens thus: τῶν φυτῶν αἱ γενέσεις ὅτι μέν εἰσι πλείους, καὶ πόσαι καὶ τίνες, ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις εἴρηται πρότερον. The end of b. I. of the same treatise connects with the beginning of b. II.

Theophrastus died in 287 B.C. or soon afterwards: the treatise *de Causis Plant.* was published soon after 313 B.C.; the *History of Plants* was published after 307 B.C.[79]

The extant treatise, of Aristoxenus, another disciple of Aristotle, and the rival of Theophrastus, concerning Music, is, in our editions, divided into three books, but presents no traces of an original division. The second book, as it stands in our copies, begins with a passage which may be here cited, inasmuch as it

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[76] On the close connexion of the Ethics and Politics, see Biese, *Philos. des Aristoteles*, Vol. II. p. 403, note.

[77] From the passage of Simplicius in *Phys.* fol. 216, cited and illustrated by Stahr, *Aristotelia*, Vol. II. p. 100, 189; it cannot be inferred that Eudemus applied to Theophrastus for a copy of any *book* of the Physics of Aristotle; though he doubtless designated some portion of the treatise as being defective in his copy.

[78] Concerning the uncertainty of the present number and division of the books of the *History of Plants*, see Schneider Vol. V. p. 233, of his edition.

[79] Clinton, *F. H.* Vol

shews the importance which Aristotle attached to a clear exposition of the subject of a treatise, and the consequent necessity for frequent recapitulations and anticipations of the argument. "It is perhaps (says Aristoxenus) better first to set forth the subject of the treatise, in order that we may travel onwards more easily, as along a road with which we are acquainted, and may know where we are; and that we may not form an erroneous conception of the matter in hand, as Aristotle used always to say, was the case with most of those who went to hear the discourses of Plato concerning the *summum bonum*. Every one of them came, he said, expecting to obtain some of the things which are commonly esteemed the greatest goods, such as riches, health, strength, in short, some great blessing: but when they heard only arguments about mathematics and numbers and geometry and astronomy, and, in fine, that the greatest good is one, it seemed to them something altogether strange. Some felt contempt for the explanation, others complained of it. Why was this? It was because they did not know what they were to hear, but, like logical disputants, they came to the lecture, thinking of nothing but the word: whereas if anybody had previously stated the subject, the student would have known what he came to hear, and if the argument seemed to him sound, he would have remained firm in his conviction. For these reasons Aristotle himself used to begin by announcing to his hearers what was the subject of his lecture, and how he intended to treat it[80]."

The Hippocratean treatises have descended to us in too questionable a shape, both as to their authorship and the alterations which they may have undergone, to enable us to judge of the precise form in which the works of the Father of Medicine himself were composed. It may, however, be observed, that although the *Epidemiæ*, the *Aphorisms*, the *Prognostics of Cos*, and some of the other treatises are divided into books; and although this division may date from an early period, there is no internal evidence of its having in any case been contemporaneous with the composition of the work. Littré, in his comprehensive Introduction to the Works of Hippocrates, states his opinion on this point in the following manner. Speaking of the Hippocratean collection, he says: 'The divisions into chapters or books is due to the editors

[80] Lib. II. ad init. For a list of the numerous writings of Aristoxenus, see Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. III. p. 473.

and not to the authors themselves. Rufus had divided the *Aphorisms* into three sections, Soranus into four; Galen has followed the division into seven, which was probably the most ancient. We learn from Stephanus that the division of the *Prognostic* into three sections was made by Galen. Apollonius of Cittium had divided the treatise on Articulations into three parts; Galen divided it into four. The ancient writings, as they came from the hands of the authors, were without any of these divisions; there were no other divisions, as Palladius remarks[81], than those which resulted from the meaning and the transition from one subject to another[82]." Littré observes elsewhere that there is no ground for thinking that the division of the *Aphorisms* into books was made by Hippocrates himself[83]; although there is no reason why this, as well as the divisions of the books of the *Epidemiæ*, should not date from the time of Bacchius and the early Alexandrine commentators on Hippocrates[84]. Many citations, particularly of medical treatises now lost, occur in the Hippocratic writings: none of these mentions any book by its number, but the description of the work is general, as in the other citations in the early Greek writers already noticed[85]. Even the titles of the treatises appear to have been affixed by the editors, and not by the authors[86].

In order to appreciate the full force of the negative inference from the works of the earlier Greek writers, it is necessary to compare some of the histories and other works written *after* the time when the division into books had become customary. As soon as the practice had been introduced, its convenience probably caused it to be universally adopted in all but short compositions.

Polybius (who was born between 210 and 200, and who survived 129 B.C.) is the earliest Greek writer whose extant remains

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[81] The following is the passage of Palladius referred to by Littré. It is from his commentary on the sixth book of the Epidemiæ. *Διήρηται δὲ ἡ μὲν πᾶσα πραγματεία εἰς ἕπτα κεφάλαια, ταῦτα δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐν τοῖς Ἱπποκράτους χρόνοις οὐκ ἐζητοῦντο· ὅσα γὰρ ἦσαν τὰ διδασκόμενα, τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ τμήματα*, Schol. in *Hippocrat.* Vol. II. p. 3. ed. Dietz. Dietz supposes Palladius to have lived in the seventh or eighth century, Præf. ad Vol. II. p. vi.

[82] Tom. I. p. 152. Notwithstanding the differences in the number of books of the Aphorisms made by different editors, the order of the aphorisms (Littré remarks) was always the same, ib. p. 324.

[83] Littré, Tom. I. p. 405.

[84] Ib. p. 276, 324. A certain collection of the Hippocratean writings was in later times named *hexacontabiblos* (Suidas in v., Littré, ib. p. 148). The number was obtained by the same mode of computation as that employed by Diogenes Laertius in counting the books of Xenophon: see above, p. 15. Compare the contents of the MS. in Littré, ib. p. 524.

[85] Littré, Tom. I. pp. 53–8, 374–378, 379.

[86] Ib. pp. 152, 327.

exhibit unquestionable evidence of an original division into books. Thus, in a digression in his third book, he takes occasion to remark, that if any person thinks that his history is difficult to procure and to peruse, on account of the number of the books, he is in error; for it is easier to purchase and read the forty books of his Universal History, arranged in a perspicuous order, than a large number of unconnected particular histories[87]. References to the separate books often occur in the course of the work. For example—near the beginning, he announces that the war between the Romans and Hannibal is to be a part of his subject; but inasmuch as the affairs of Rome and Carthage are not well known to the Greeks, he prefixes two introductory books: *ἀναγκαῖον ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι συντάξασθαι ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς βίβλον πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας;* lest any reader should be unable to understand how the Roman power became so great, but should find the explanation in these two introductory books: *ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν βίβλων καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύταις προκατασκευῆς δῆλον ᾗ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν*, &c. I. 3. § 8—10. Lower down he says: *ὑποθησόμεθα δὲ ταύτης ἀρχὴν τῆς βίβλου τὴν πρώτην διάβασιν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Ῥωμαίων.* I. 5. § 1. Book II. begins: *ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ διεσαφήσαμεν πότε Ῥωμαῖοι*, &c. He closes b. II. with an announcement that he has completed the introduction which he promised: *τὴν βίβλον ταύτην ἀφορίζειν ἀκολούθως τῇ τε τῶν προγεγονότων πραγμάτων περιγραφῇ*, &c. He begins the third book by stating that he announced in the first book his intention to prefix an introduction: *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως, τρίτῃ δὲ ταύτης ἀνώτερον βίβλῳ;* and he at the same time explained his reasons for prefixing them: *τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς συνεταξάμεθα τὰς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλους.* At the beginning of b. IV. he refers to the account of the second Punic war in the preceding (lost) book: *ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ,*— and he likewise says that he will recapitulate briefly his narrative of Greek affairs in the second book: *τῆς κατασκευῆς ἣν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐποιησάμεθα.*

Diodorus, (who was probably born soon after 100 B.C. and who wrote in the time of Augustus,) is equally distinct in the mention of books in his history. In I. 4. and 5. he states that his entire history consists of forty books; that the first six include the events and legends before the Trojan war; the first three

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[87] *πόσῳ γὰρ ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ κτήσασθαι καὶ διαγνῶναι* [*διαναγνῶναι* Schweigh.] *βίβλους τετταράκοντα*, &c. III. 32. § 2. Suidas in *Πολύβιος* and Steph. Byz. in *μεγάλη πόλις* state that Polybius wrote forty books.

relating to the barbarians, and the three next to the Greeks; that the eleven following books comprehend the history from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander; and the next twenty-three books bring it to the beginning of the war of Julius Cæsar against the Gauls. He likewise marks the ends and beginnings of books: thus at the close of b. I. he says, that having related what is worthy of notice respecting the early history of Egypt, he proceeds, according to the intention announced at the beginning of the book, to continue the account of the other events in the following book, beginning with the deeds of the Assyrians. He begins b. II. by recapitulating briefly the contents of the first book (ἡ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος, τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὖσα πρώτη), and states that in this book he will narrate the early Asiatic history. Similar epitomes and introductions occur at the ends and beginnings of the other books[88]; the constancy and precision with which Diodorus marks these divisions, as well as the procemia which he frequently prefixes to a book, form a striking contrast with the earlier writers.

It is natural that the works of later writers should exhibit evident traces of the division into books. Thus Josephus says at the end of his work on Jewish antiquities, that it was composed in twenty books, and sixty thousand lines: and he adds, that he intends to write the history of the Jewish war; and also a treatise, in four books, concerning the nature of God, and the Jewish law, according to the notions of his countrymen. At the beginning of his History of the Jewish war, he announces that it is to be comprehended in seven books[89]. So Appian, in the preface to his history, states the number of books into which it is divided, and the subject of each[90]. The same writer likewise adopted the practice followed by Diodorus, and perhaps borrowed from Ephorus, of calling his books by titles descriptive of their contents. Thus the first book was entitled βασιλική, the second Ἰταλική, the third Σαυνιτική, and so on[91]. Plutarch, again, in his treatise *de Placitis Philosophorum*, marks the division of books by a short procemium to each; at the beginning of the third book he mentions the number of it.

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[88] Not only is the separation of the books, but their numbers are often mentioned. He says that he calls the fifth book νησιωτική, after the manner of Ephorus, who made each of his books comprehend the same class of subjects.

[89] Bell. Jud. I. procem. § 12.

[90] Procem. § 14.

[91] See Phot. *Biblioth.* cod. 57. The copy of Appian read by Photius was ἐν τεύχεσι τρισί, in three volumes.

The works of the early Roman annalists and historians appear, as far as we can judge, to have been originally divided into books. Their age is not so early as to render it improbable that the division was made by the authors themselves[92]. For this may have been the case with the work of L. Cincius Alimentus, who lived in the second Punic war, and was taken prisoner by Hannibal: and Nepos distinctly states that the *Origines* of Cato, (who was still employed upon them in 150 B.C. and died in the following year), were written in seven books[93]. Sylla, who was born in 138 and died in 78 B.C., wrote his memoirs in twenty-two books[94]. Varro, who was born in 116 and lived till 28 B.C., is stated to have composed his *Rerum Humanarum antiquitates* in twenty five and *Divinarum* in sixteen books[95]. His extant treatise *de Re Rustica,* and the remains of that *de Lingua Latina,* shew conclusively that he used the division of books. Thus in the preface to the former work he enumerates the Greek writers on agriculture; and he then adds: "Hos nobilitate Mago Carthaginiensis præteriit Pœnica lingua, quod res dispersas comprehendit libris xxviii. quos Cassius Dionysius Uticensis vertit libris xx. ac Græca lingua Sextilio prætori misit: in quæ volumina de Græcis libris eorum quos dixi adjecit non pauca, et de Magonis dempsit instar librorum viii. Hosce ipsos utiliter ad VI. libros redigit Diophanes in Bithynia, et misit Deiotaro regi. Quo brevius (he proceeds to say) de ea re conor tribus libris exponere, uno de agricultura, altero de re pecuaria, tertio de villaticis pastionibus." The first four books of the treatise *de Lingua Latina* are not preserved; but the fifth book opens with a statement of the contents of the six books immediately succeeding the first[96]; the subjects of which are set out separately. The fifth book has a formal conclusion, and the sixth a formal begin-

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[92] Seven books of Numa were said by Cassius Hemina to have been found in an ancient chest. L. Piso said that they were fourteen in number,—seven of pontifical law, and seven of Pythagorean philosophy: Plin. *H. N.* XIII. 27. These were probably meant to be like the *books* of prophecies said to have been brought by the Sibyl to Tarquin, *i. e.* 'volumes' or 'rolls.' (See Gellius [illegible], and the other writers cited by Fab. [illegible] *Gr.* Vol. I. p. 249.) The story [illegible] of the finding of the books of Numa (as Mr. Cooley has remarked, in his edition of Larcher's Notes to Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 137) is doubtless fabulous.

[93] Nepos, XXIV. 3. See Krause, *Vitæ et Fragmenta vet. Historicorum Romanorum*, pp. 90, 96.

[94] Krause, ib. p. 290. Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. III. ad ann. 78.

[95] Baehr, *Gesch. der Röm. Litt.* § 340.

[96] See the contents of the books stated in C. O. Müller's edition, p. xli.

ning. At the end of b. VI. he states, that two out of the three books (V—VII.), concerning the origin of words, are completed, and that in the next book this branch of the subject will be concluded. At the end of b. VII. he introduces a formal recapitulation, shewing that the six books after the first, of which the first three related to etymology, and the three next to the origin of words, are completed; and the subjects of them are again stated. He then adds, that these six books form one of the three parts into which the entire work is to be divided; and that it is completed with this book. B. VIII. begins with a formal procemium, reciting the contents of the previous books, and announcing a new division of the subject. The end of b. IX. and the beginning of b. X. are likewise marked with equal distinctness.

Cicero, who was born ten years after Varro, but did not live to so late a date, likewise divided all his longer treatises into books. In a passage at the beginning of the second book *de Divinatione,* he gives a succinct account of his works, and of the number of books which each contained. "Nam et cohortati sumus (he says) ut maxime potuimus, ad philosophiæ studium eo libro qui est inscriptus *Hortensius;* et quod genus philosophandi minime arrogans, maximeque et constans et elegans arbitraremur, quattuor *Academicis* libris ostendimus. Quumque fundamentum esset philosophiæ positum in finibus bonorum at malorum, perpurgatus est is locus a nobis quinque libris .... Totidem subsecuti libri *Tusculanarum disputationum,* res ad maxime vivendum maxime necessarias operuerunt. Primus enim est de contemnenda morte; secundus de tolerando dolore; de ægritudine lenienda tertius; quartus de reliquis animi perturbationibus; quintus eum locum complexus est qui totam philosophiam maxime illustrat ..... Quibus rebus editis, tres libri perfecti sunt *de Natura Deorum:* in quibus omnis ejus loci quæstio continetur. Quæ ut plene esset cumulateque perfecta, de divinatione ingressi sumus his libris scribere ..... atque his libris adnumerandi sunt sex *de Republica,* quos tum scripsimus, quum gubernacula rei publicæ tenebamus ..... nostri quoque oratorii libri in eundem numerum referendi videntur. Ita tres erunt *de Oratore,* quartus *Brutus,* quintus *Orator*[97]." In general, too, the beginnings of the books in Cicero's treatises are distinguished by formal pro[illegible] marks of separation from the preceding part.

[97] *De Div.* II. 1.

Pliny, likewise in the preface to his Natural History, announces its division into books: "Viginti millia rerum dignarum cura (he says) ex lectione voluminum circiter duum millium, quorum pauca admodum studiosi attingunt, propter secretum materiæ, ex exquisitis auctoribus centum, inclusimus triginta sex voluminibus, adjectis rebus plurimis, quas aut ignoraverant priores, aut postea invenerat vita." At the end of the preface he adds, addressing Vespasian: "Quia occupationibus tuis publico bono parcendum erat, quid singulis contineatur libris huic epistolæ subjunxi; summaque cura ne perlegendos eos haberes operam dedi. Tu per hoc et aliis præstabis ne perlegant: sed ut quisque desideraverit aliquid, id tantum quærat, et sciat quo loco inveniat. Hoc ante me fecit in literis nostris Valerius Soranus, in libris quos ἐποπτίδων inscripsit." From this explanation it results that Pliny's work was divided by himself into thirty-six books, and that the book which is numbered two ought to be the first, and so with the others. That which in our editions is called book I. is in fact an index or table of contents, subjoined to the introductory dedication or preface. The purpose of such an index is clearly indicated by Pliny when he says that it is intended to enable a person to find at once the particular subject of which he is in search: "ut quisque desideraverit aliquid, id tantum quærat, et sciat quo loco inveniat." Pliny seems to have been acquainted with no similar table of contents, except in the encyclopædia of Soranus, entitled ἐπόπτιδες, ('the initiations.') There is an additional peculiarity in this summary, that it marks a numerical subdivision of books; viz. chapters or sections. These numbers occur in the best MSS. and are considered by Brotier as having originated with Pliny himself.

The work of Columella, *de Re Rustica*, may be particularly mentioned as containing internal evidence of the beginning and ending of nearly all of its twelve books. Thus, at the end of b. I. he says, after recapitulating its contents, "per hæc ad ipsum jam terræ cultum pervenimus, de quo pluribus *libro insequente* mox disseremus." At the beginning of the preface to b. II. he mentions what he said 'priore libro;' and he ends it by declaring "De cujus [terræ] dicturos nos priori volumine polliciti jam nunc disseremus." It will be sufficient to adduce one more example from the beginning of b. VIII.: "Quæ fere consummabant, Publi Silvine, ruris exercendi colendique scientiam, quæque pecuariæ negotiationis exigebat ratio, septem memoravimus libris. Hic nunc sequentis numeri titulum possidebit."

Quintilian thus states in the procemium of his work on oratory the subjects of the twelve books into which he divided it. "Liber *primus* ea quæ sunt ante officium rhetoris continebit. *Secundo* prima apud rhetorem elementa, et quæ de ipsa rhetoricæ substantia quæruntur, tractabimus. *Quinque* deinceps inventioni (nam huic et dispositio subjungitur), *quatuor* elocutioni (in cujus partem memoria ac pronunciatio veniunt) dabuntur. *Unus* accedet, in quo nobis orator ipse informandus est." (§ 21—2.) In general, too, Quintilian marks the ends and beginnings of books: thus at the end of b. I. he says, "Hactenus ergo de studiis, quibus, antequam majora capiat, puer instituendus est; proximus liber velut novum sumet exordium, et ad rhetoris officia transibit." B. III. begins thus: "Quoniam in libro secundo quæsitum est, quid esset rhetorice," &c. B. IV. begins: "Perfecto, Marcelle Victori, operis tibi dedicati tertio libro, et jam quarta fere laboris parte transactâ," &c. Similar marks of the division into books occur frequently in the treatise of Quintilian; which it is important to compare in this respect with the Rhetoric of Aristotle, where no sign of a similar division can be discerned.

It may perhaps be thought superfluous to adduce further examples of the evidence which the works of the imperial period furnish of their division into books. There is however one class of writings, which, from their number and importance, ought not to be here passed over without mention; viz. the law-treatises. The works of the practical lawyers, of which extracts are given in the Digests, are almost always cited with the addition of the book from which the passage is taken: thus in the title *de justitia et jure*, at the beginning of b. I. Ulpian is cited three times, "libro I. Institutionum," and once "libro I. Regularum." Papinian is cited "libro II. Definitionum." Paulus "libro XIV. ad Sabinum," and so on. The division of the Digests into fifty books, as well as that of the Institutes into four books, was made by the compilers. The former is mentioned at the end of the constitution *de Conceptione Digestorum;* and both appear in the declaration prefixed to the Institutes (§ 4). The Digests were moreover divided into seven *partes*, each comprising several books[98]. The titles were likewise a part of the division made by the original compilers.

St. Augustin's *Retractationes* contain a list of his nu[illegible] works, arranged in chronological order, with a short ac[illegible]

[98] Hugo, *Juristische Encyclopädie*, p. 203 (ed. 8).

the subject and contents of each, and the occasion on which it was written. In every case he specifies the number of books of which each treatise is composed; and he mentions the initial words of the writing, so as to enable it to be identified[99]. The following account of the work *De Civitate Dei*, may serve as a specimen: "Hoc autem *de civitate Dei* grande opus tandem viginti duobus libris est terminatum. Quorum quinque primi eos refellunt qui res humanas ita prosperari volunt, &c. Sequentes autem quinque adversus eos loquuntur, qui fatentur hæc mala.... His ergo decem libris duæ istæ vanæ opiniones Christianæ religionis adversariæ refelluntur. Sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse, non autem nostra asseruisse, reprehenderet, id agit pars altera operis hujus, quæ duodecim libris continetur. Quanquam ubi opus est, et in prioribus decem quæ nostra sunt asseramus, et in duodecim posterioribus redarguamus adversa. Duodecim ergo librorum sequentium primi quatuor continent exortum duarum civitatum, quarum est una Dei, altera hujus mundi. Secundi quatuor excursum eorum sive procursum. Tertii vero, qui et postremi, debitos fines. Ita omnes viginti et duo libri, cum sint de utraque civitate conscripti, titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt, ut *de civitate Dei* potius vocarentur[100]." The beginnings and ends of the books of this work likewise mark the division, and references are made to previous books by their number. He concludes his *Retractationes* in the following words: "Hæc opera nonaginta tria in libris ducentis triginta duobus me dictasse recolui; quando hæc retractavi, utrum adhuc essem aliquos dictaturus ignorans, atque ipsam eorum retractationem in libris duobus edidi."

Not only histories and philosophical treatises, and other works in prose, were, after the beginning of the second century before the Christian era, commonly divided into books; but poems also were, from the same epoch, likewise composed in similar divisions. An indication of the time when the practice of dividing poems into books began, is afforded by the statement (which there seems no good reason for doubting), that Aristarchus divided the Iliad and Odyssey into twenty-four books, each marked by a letter of the Greek alphabet[101]; which in the Alexandrine age consisted of

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[99] As to citing writings by their first words, see Jonsius, *Script. Hist. Phil.* II. 5, p. 136. Ritschl, *die Alexandrin. Bibliotheken*, p. 114.

[100] II. 43.

[101] *εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῷ ποιήσεις δύο, Ἰλιὰς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια· διῃρημένη ἑκατέρα εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν στοιχείων, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* [read *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ*] *ποιητοῦ,*

twenty-four letters. Aristarchus flourished about 158 B.C., and probably was born about the same time as Polybius. This division was introduced for the convenience of reference; which was important, and almost indispensable, to minute verbal critics such as Aristarchus. The early Greek writers, when they are desirous of indicating the part of Homer to which they refer, use some expression by which the main subject of that portion of the poem is described. Thus Herodotus refers to the *Διομήδεος ἀριστείη*[102]; Plato to the *Διταί*[103]; and Aristotle to the *Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος*[104]: other ancient names for portions of the Iliad and Odyssey are enumerated by Ælian[105]. We can scarcely doubt, considering the motives with which the division of the Homeric poems was made, that it was not long subsequent to the introduction of the practice of dividing poems into books[106].

Apollonius Rhodius succeeded Eratosthenes as *προστάτης* of the Alexandrine library in the year 194 B.C., and preceded Aristarchus. His epic poem, as we have it, is divided into four books, each of which considerably exceeds the length assigned by Aristarchus to the books of the Iliad and Odyssey. The last book consists of 1781 verses. It is difficult to judge from the internal evidence

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ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον. Pseudo-Plutarchus *de Vit. et Poes. Hom.* II. 4. "Divisio rhapsodiarum (says Heyne), quam nunc habemus, Aristarcho tribui solita, Alexandrinorum acumen omnino sapit; neque ejus fundamentum fuit aliud, quam ut libri inter se essent mole et versuum numero fere pares, et ut alphabeti litteris responderent." Hom. Vol. VIII. p. 788. Heyne proceeds to blame the Alexandrine grammarians, for omitting to mention the most material facts relating to Homer: "Scire avebamus .... lectionis, quam repererant, notationem qualemcumque, rhapsodiarum antiquiorum numerum et ordinem, et quid ipsi, ut novam divisionem in XXIV. libros conderent, in carmine mutarint." Heyne appears to me, in these words, to attribute more importance to the division by Aristarchus than the testimony warrants. Nothing shews that he did more than divide the poems, which in the manuscripts before his time were written continuously without any break, into twenty-four nearly equal portions. There is no evidence of any earlier division, or any probability that such a division existed. Mr. Payne Knight has, in his edition of Homer, removed the Aristarchean division of books, and printed the poems continuously.

[102] II. 116.

[103] Cratyl. § 95. Hipp. Min. § 4. The *νέκυια* of the Odyssey is mentioned in the Platonic Minos, § 13.

[104] Poet. c. 16. § 8.

[105] V. H. XIII. 13.

[106] Seneca Epist. 88. § 34–5, reports a ridiculous fancy of Apion the grammarian, that Homer, having completed the Iliad and Odyssey, prefixed a beginning to the two poems, the two first letters of which (*μή*) indicated that they consisted of forty-eight books. Compare Welcker's *Ep. Cyclus*, p. 308. This circumstance shews that in the first century of the Christian era [illegible] forgotten that [illegible] of the H[illegible] than Ar[illegible]

if the division was made by the poet; the third and fourth books however begin with an invocation to the Muse, which renders it likely that the division was his own. It seems not at all improbable that the practice of dividing poems into books arose amongst the learned poets of Alexandria, and that some years after it had been introduced, Aristarchus ventured to divide the Iliad and Odyssey. Thus Euphorion (born in 274 B.C., and librarian to Antiochus who began to reign in 223 B.C.) is stated by Suidas to have written a poem entitled Χιλιάδες, in five books, which, in Meineke's opinion[107], derived its name from the circumstance of each book containing a thousand verses. Rhianus, contemporary with Eratosthenes who died 194 B.C., likewise appears to have divided his poems into books. Thus, his Heraclea seems to have consisted of fourteen books; his Achaica, Eliaca, Thessalica, and Messeniaca, were also probably composed in similar divisions, as they are cited by the grammarians[108]. With regard to Callimachus, who flourished about 256 B.C. and survived the year 230, it is more doubtful whether the four books of Αἴτια attributed to him by the grammarians were thus divided by himself[109]. Aratus preceded Callimachus, with whom he was probably acquainted as a young man: his extant poem must either be regarded as continuous, or as forming two distinct poems, the Φαινόμενα and Διοσημεῖα; but it contains no vestige of having been composed in books[110].

Owing to the comparatively late origin of the Roman literature, all the longer Latin poems, which have come down to us in

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[107] *Analecta Alexandrina*, p. 15.

[108] Meineke, *Anal. Alex.* pp. 176, 181–99.

[109] Fragm. 11–32. Bentley, in several places, alters πρώτῃ, δευτέρᾳ, &c. Αἰτίων, into πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ, &c. unnecessarily, inasmuch as the meaning is not 'in the first of the causes,' but 'in the first *book* of the Αἴτια.' Callimachus did not write a collection of books, each of which was called an Αἴτιον. Those who, in the period of Greek learning, undertook to trace existing rites and ceremonies to their mythical origin, used the word αἴτια in a sort of technical sense. Hence Ovid, at the outset of his *Fasti*, says, "Tempora *cum causis* Latium digesta per annum," &c. The object which they had in view was similar to that of Evander when he thus addresses Æneas:—

> Non hæc solennia nobis,
> Has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
> *Vana superstitio veterumque ignara Deorum*
> Imposuit. Æn. VIII. 185–8.

[110] The Scholiast appears to consider the Διοσημεῖα as a separate poem: ἄρχεται (he says) ἐπ' ἄλλο βιβλίον σφόδρα βιωφελὲς, ὃ καλεῖται Διοσημεῖα. Bekker makes the numbers continuous, and apparently treats the whole as one poem. The expression οὐχ ὁράᾳς at the beginning of the Διοσημεῖα may be compared with Virg. *Georg.* III. 103, 250, and does not prove that the poems are not continuous.

a complete form, were composed in books. It seems, moreover, probable that Ennius, who died in 169 B.C., and is stated to have been employed on the last book of his *Annals* in the year before his death, was himself the author of their division into eighteen books[111]. With regard however to the *Punic War* of Nævius, who flourished in 235 and died in 201 B.C., it is expressly stated that it was written continuously, and that a certain C. Octavius Lampadio divided it into seven books[112]. The *Annals* of Ennius were, as is well known, composed in hexameters; the poem of Nævius, a ruder and earlier work, was written in Saturnian verse. The poem of Lucretius is clearly proved, by the openings of the books, to have been thus composed by the author; and the same is true of Virgil's Georgics. The twelve books of the Æneid were likewise unquestionably the poet's own division; the number being half that into which the Iliad and Odyssey had been divided by Aristarchus[113]. The *Fasti* of Ovid were also, as the poet himself says, composed in twelve books, corresponding with the months:

> Sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos;
> Cumque suo finem mense volumen habet[114].

He likewise marks the end and beginning of many of the books: thus he closes the first book with the following couplet:

> Sed jam prima mei pars est exacta laboris;
> Cumque suo finem mense volumen habet.

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[111] Such at least appears to be a fair inference from Gellius N. A. XVII. 21, who reports that Varro, in the first book of his treatise *de Poetis*, stated that Ennius "cum septimum et sexagesimum annum haberet, duodevigesimum annalem scripsisse, *idque ipsum Ennium in eodem libro dicere*." 'Duodevigesimum' is a conjectural emendation for 'duodecimum,' the reading of all the MSS. Columna, in his *Life of Ennius* (see Hessel's edition, p. 30), assumes from Sueton. *de Illust. Gramm.* c. 2, that Q. Vargunteius divided the Annals of Ennius into books: but this passage, as it seems to me, only says that Vargunteius gave them publicity by reciting them on stated days. Concerning the number of books in the Annals of Ennius, see Krause, ib. p. 37.

[112] C. Octavius Lampadio Nævii Punicum Bellum, quod uno volumine et continenti scriptura expositum, divisit in septem libros: Suet. *de Illust. Grammat.* c. 2. Lampadio is the name of a slave in the Cistellaria of Plautus: vide ad Lucret. IV. 1158.

[113] Æneida prosa prius oratione formatam, digestamque in XII. libros, particulatim componere instituit, ut quidam tradunt. Alii ejus sententiæ sunt, ut existiment eum, si diutius vixisset, quatuor et viginti libros usque ad Augusti tempora scripturum, atque alia quædam percursurum; Augusti vero gesta diligentissime executurum. Donatus, *Vita. Virgil.* § 34–5. The latter part of this statement is absurd, as Heyne has remarked; it evidently originated in a desire to shew that Virgil intended to rival Homer in the number of his books.

[114] Tristia, II. 549–50.

B. II. opens thus:

> Janus habet finem. Cum carmine crescat et annus.
> Alter ut hinc mensis, sic liber alter eat.

The same book ends with these verses:

> Venimus in portum, libro cum mense peracto.
> Naviget hinc aliâ jam mihi linter aquâ.

Collections of shorter poems, (such, for example, as some of the elegiac pieces of Ovid), were likewise combined by the author into books, and so given by him to the public. This is particularly apparent in Martial, whose epigrams are shewn by clear internal evidence to have been published by himself in books. In I. 2. he calls himself

> Toto notus in orbe Martialis
> Argutis epigrammatôn libellis.

He ends the first book, consisting of one hundred and nineteen epigrams, with the following couplet:

> Cui legisse satis non est epigrammata centum,
> Nil illi satis est, Cæciliane, mali.

The second book (after a short prose dedication) begins with an epigram in which he takes credit for the brevity of the book (consisting of ninety-three epigrams);

> Tercentena (he says) quidem poteras epigrammata ferre ·
> Sed quis te ferret, perlegeretque, liber?

The third book begins with an epigram to the reader, mentioning that it is sent from Gallia togata:

> Hoc tibi, quicquid id est, longinquis mittit ab oris
> Gallia, Romanæ nomine dicta togæ.
> Hunc legis, et *laudas librum fortasse priorem.*

The sixth book begins:

> Sextus mittitur hic tibi libellus,
> In primis mihi care Martialis.

The eighth book is dedicated to Domitian, in a prose preface, where it is stated that this libellus "operis nostri octavus inscribitur."

The second epigram of book X. begins thus:

> Festinata prior decimi mihi cura libelli
> Elapsum manibus nunc revocavit opus.

It is unnecessary to cite other instances.

The preceding examples shew that whereas in the extant writings of the Greek historians and philosophers who lived before the age of Alexander, there is no internal evidence of any original division into books; the writers, both Greek and Latin, who lived after the beginning of the second century before Christ exhibit frequent and unequivocal proofs of having themselves divided their own works in this manner. It seems therefore to follow, that if the earlier writings had, like the later ones, been originally divided into books, *some* of them could scarcely fail to contain traces of the division.

If the correctness of this inference be admitted, it follows further that, so far as we can judge from extant writings, the practice of dividing histories and argumentative prose works into books was introduced some time between about 300 and 160 B.C., or between the date of the works of Theophrastus and the history of Polybius. We will now attempt to narrow the limits of time within which the introduction of this practice may be placed.

It seems probable that the want of a division into books would first occur to writers who undertook to narrate a long series of events, extending over many generations, and sometimes including several nations. It happens however, unfortunately, that all the voluminous works of the historians who lived between the times of Xenophon and Polybius have been lost, and are known to us merely by the quotations of other writers. We can therefore only argue from such imperfect indications as these references may afford.

Philistus was a grown up man in 406, and was slain in 350 B. C. His Sicilian history appears in the time of Diodorus to have consisted of eleven books, and his history of Dionysius to have formed two more; making altogether thirteen[115]. But there is nothing to shew that this division was not made by the grammarians, like the division of the histories of Thucydides and Xenophon.

Theopompus was born in Ol. 100, (380—77 B. C.), and was living in 305 B. C. He continued the history of Greece from the conclusion of Thucydides to the end of the Peloponnesian war: twelve books of this work are mentioned by Diodorus[116]. His Philippics contained a history of the reign of Philip in fifty-eight

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[115] Diod. XIII. 103; XV. 89. See C. Müller, p. xlviii.
[116] XIII. 42; XIV. 84.

books; five of which were, as Diodorus states,[117] lost in his time. No writer earlier than Diodorus mentions the books of his history; and it is observable that the passage preserved by Photius[118], in which he boasts of the number of lines in his works, contains no reference to the number of *books;* and yet so large a number as fifty-eight books would seem to have offered an equally favourable topic for self-gratulation.

The exact time of the birth of Ephorus is doubtful; but it may be probably referred with C. Müller [119] to Ol. 98—100 (388—77 B. C.); he was alive in 333 B. C. His historical work comprehended the actions of the Greeks and barbarians from the return of the Heraclidæ to the siege of Perinthus in Ol. 109. 4. (341 B. C.) a period of nearly 750 years; and its extent, and the variety of its subjects, therefore rendered some internal division of its parts almost necessary for perspicuity. That some such arrangement was made by him is testified by Diodorus: "Ephorus (he says), in writing his general history, was successful not only in his style, but also in the arrangement of his work; for he composed each book so as to include in it transactions of a similar nature." And he proceeds to say that, after the example of this historian, he will inscribe the fifth book of his own history with the title of Νησιωτική[120]. From this statement nothing more can safely be inferred, than that Ephorus arranged his materials so as to combine in the narrative such transactions as had any common character, or bond of connexion; these portions of the work would, in later times, naturally be thrown by the grammarians into separate books. Diodorus, however, in another place states distinctly that Ephorus composed his history in thirty books, prefixing an introduction to each[121]. If this statement is to be taken literally, it must follow that the thirty books of the history of Ephorus were the division of the author himself. It is, however, to be observed, that Diogenes Laertius states with equal confidence that the Anabasis of Xenophon consisted of seven books, to each of which the author prefixed an introduction; and it has been shewn above that no numerical division of books could have been made by Xenophon in that work. Moreover, Polybius mentions the general introduction to the history

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[117] XVI. 3.

[118] Biblioth. cod. 176.

[119] *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* p. lviii. ed. Didot.

[120] V. 1, 2.

[121] Καὶ βίβλους γέγραφε τριάκοντα, προοίμιον ἑκάστῃ προθείς, XVI. 7.

of Ephorus[123], as does also Photius[124]; but no other writer mentions the separate procemia. Polybius, likewise, who (as we shall see presently) cites the books of Timæus by numbers, never cites any separate book of Ephorus. Looking to the date of Ephorus, it is not likely that he divided his history into books distinguished numerically; but there seems no reason why he should not have distributed his history into certain portions, inscribed with titles descriptive of their principal contents. Thus the first portion of the work may have been inscribed *Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος*; another portion may have been inscribed *Εὐρώπη*, as the fourth book is called by Strabo[125]; it was mentioned above that in inscribing one of his books with the title of *Νησιωτικὴ*, Diodorus expressly states that he followed the example of Ephorus.

Timæus (whose history, though less comprehensive than that of Ephorus, was probably of equal bulk,) appears to have been born about 352, and died about 256 B.C.; nearly half a century before the birth of Polybius. His history, which related to the affairs of Sicily, and to so much of the affairs of Greece and Italy as was connected with them, came down to Olymp. 129. 1 (264 B. C.); in which year Polybius begins his history[126]. According to C. Müller, the historical work of Timæus consisted of three parts; first, the *Ἰταλικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ* in twenty books; secondly, the *Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ* in thirty-eight or more books; after which were five books relating to Agathocles. But whatever may have been the number of books into which the history of Timæus was distributed, it is material to observe, that Polybius, who never refers to any book of Ephorus, frequently cites the books of Timæus numerically. Thus he quotes the second book of Timæus respecting Corsica[127]: he refers to the introduction of his sixth book[128]; and he names the twenty-first book in two places[129]: and in another place the

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[123] *ὡς Ἔφορός φησιν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.* IV. 20.

[124] Biblioth. cod. 176, p. 121 a. ed. Bekker.

[125] *Ἔφορος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ μὲν τῆς Ἱστορίας, Εὐρώπῃ δ' ἐπιγραφομένῃ, βίβλῳ, περιοδεύσας τὴν Εὐρώπην μέχρι Σκυθῶν, ἐπὶ τέλει φησίν,* &c. Strabo VII. p. 463 (fr. 76. ed. Didot.). Strabo I. p. 59, cites Ephorus *ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης λόγῳ* (fr. 38), and X. p. 370, *ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ* (fr. 63, according to the emendation of Marx.)

[126] See I. 5. § 1. See Clinton *F. H.* Vol. III. ad ann. 264. and App. p. 489.

[127] *καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης μνημονεύων ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ φησίν.* Polyb. XII. 3. (fr. 26. Didot.)

[128] *Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς ἕκτης βίβλου φησί τινὰς ὑπολαμβάνειν,* &c. Polyb. XII. 28 (fr. 55.)

[129] XII. 25 (fr. 97), and ib. (fr. 134), where C. Müller proposes to alter the number.

thirty-fourth book[130]. Moreover, he speaks of the early books as τὰ πρῶτα ὑπομνήματα[131].

It may be added, that the books of the γεωγραφικα of Eratosthenes are more than once cited by Strabo[132]. Although Strabo lived at a time when the grammarians had divided the works of the early Greek writers into books, yet the date of Eratosthenes (born 275, died 194 B.C.) renders it probable that this was his own division. The same may be said of the twenty-eight books of the history of Phylarchus, who was nearly contemporary with Eratosthenes[133].

The result of the traces discernible in the fragments of the historians belonging to the period between Xenophon and Polybius seems to be, that Ephorus distributed his great historical compilation into certain portions, to all or some of which he prefixed titles descriptive of their contents, though without dividing it into books distinguished by numbers: that Timæus however probably divided his own history into books, and numbered them for the convenience of reference. It will be observed, that as Timæus brought down his history to the year 264 B.C., and there is no reason for assuming that it was published piecemeal, the practice of dividing prose-works into numbered books may be supposed to have arisen during the last fifty years of the third century before Christ. It agrees with this supposition that Apollonius Rhodius about 200 B.C. probably wrote his epic poem in books; and that Aristarchus, about thirty or forty years later, found the division of books so firmly established, and its convenience so generally recognized, that he ventured to divide the Iliad and Odyssey in this manner, and that his division was ever afterwards retained. Some other voluminous writers, who lived in the third century before Christ, may be thought to have used this division; such as Dicæarchus, who flourished about 326—287 B.C. and Demetrius Phalereus, who died soon after 283 B.C. The βίος Ἑλλάδος of Dicæarchus is stated to have been in three books, and Cicero mentions two dialogues on the soul, by this philosopher, each in three books[134]. The examples of Aristotle and Theophrastus shew however that no safe inference can be founded on the mere number

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[130] Ib. (fr. 139.)

[131] See *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* p. li. ed. Didot. Compare Clinton *F. H.* Vol. III. p. 490, note [w].

[132] See Clinton *F. H.* Vol. III. p. 514, note [d].

[133] *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* p. xxxviii.

[134] Tusc. *Disp.* I. 10 and 31. See Clinton *F. H.* Vol. III. p. 474. It seems not unlikely that Cicero is mistaken in representing that Dicæarchus wrote two dialogues on the same subject.

of the works of any writer of this period. On the other hand, Philochorus, the author of the Atthis, who was contemporary with Timæus, and Polemon the antiquarian, who flourished about 200—180 B.C., doubtless used the division of books. There is no good reason for thinking that the four books of Polemon's treatise on the offerings in the Acropolis at Athens, mentioned by Strabo and the twelve books of his treatise against Timæus cited by Athenæus, were not due to the author himself[135].

If it be admitted that the division into books was not earlier than about the year 250 B.C., it follows that the books of the ancient histories, such as those of Hecatæus, Xanthus, and Pherecydes, which are cited by the grammarians and other late writers, were not divisions made by the authors themselves, but were introduced by editors and transcribers, after the same epoch; in the same manner that we know from express testimony that the Iliad and Odyssey and the Annals of Ennius were divided. The historical books of the Old Testament underwent a similar division: the books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, were not divided in the ancient Hebrew copies; but each formed respectively only one book. The division with respect to the two latter histories is known to have been made by the Alexandrine translators[136]. In like manner, the books, both of the Old and New Testament, were divided into certain segments for the convenience of reading, at a comparatively early date; whilst the division of chapters which is used in the modern bibles was not introduced till the middle of the thirteenth century[137]. Again, the Greek dramas, both tragedies and comedies, have been, by some modern editors, divided into five acts; although there is no reason for supposing that this division (which appears indeed to have been of considerable antiquity in Rome,) was ever used by the Greeks[138]. Accordingly, in the most recent editions of the Greek dramatists, the divisions of acts have been properly expunged.

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[135] Strabo IX. p. 396. Ath. XV. p. 698 B. See Preller, *Polemonis fragm.* pp. 35, 69–85. From the number and titles of Polemon's writings it is evident that most of them were short antiquarian dissertations; compare Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. III. p. 524.

[136] See De Wette, *Einleitung in das A. T.* § 176, 181, 187.

[137] Ib. § 78. *Einleitung in das N. T.* § 30, 31. These early divisions of the books of the New Testament were called κεφάλαια, τίτλοι, and περικοπαί.

[138] The allusions in Horace's *Ars Poetica* (v. 129, 189, 194) shew that not only the division into acts, but the number of them, was firmly established in his time. There seems no good reason for doubting that the comedies of Plautus and Terence were composed in acts.

It may serve as a confirmation of the preceding view, that βίβλος or βιβλίον in the early writers always signifies the material book, properly consisting of papyrus, and never denotes a portion of any literary composition inscribed upon it. Thus Herodotus says that the Ionians formerly being in want of papyrus-leaves, ἐν σπάνι βύβλων, wrote on parchment of sheep- or goat-skin[139]. He likewise uses βιβλίον more than once in the sense of a *letter*[140]. Βιβλίον has the same meaning in Aristophanes; thus in the Frogs Æschylus says that Euripides may go into one scale, taking with him the manuscripts of his plays, ξυλλαβὼν τὰ βιβλία[141]. Theophrastus in like manner, in his History of Plants, uses βιβλίον for the material book made of papyrus[142]. In the later writers, however, βίβλος and βιβλίον are the proper terms for denoting such a division of any literary composition as we now call a *book*. So well established was this phraseology, that the grammarians, in citing any book, commonly omit the word βίβλος, and merely say ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, &c. Τεῦχος, in the later Greek writers, signified a *volume*; thus the history of Appian, in the copy read by Photius, was contained in three volumes, τρία τεύχη[143]: sometimes, however, this word was nearly equivalent to βιβλίον[144]; thus ἡ πεντάτευχος designated that portion of the Old Testament which consists of the five books of Moses[145]. Amongst the Romans, *liber*, (which, like βύβλος originally denoted the substance of which the book was composed) with its diminutive *libellus*, and likewise *volumen*[146], originally a

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[139] v. 58. Concerning the meaning of βύβλος, as papyrus, see Larcher on Herod. II. 92.

[140] Schweigh. Lex. Herod. in v.

[141] Ran. 1409.

[142] IV. 8. § 4. Boeckh, *Econ. of Athens*. b. I. c. 9, (p. 47 Trans.) is doubtless right in thinking that the βίβλοι mentioned in Xen. *Anab.* VII. 5. § 14, as exported to the Pontus and Thrace, were not manuscripts, but blank volumes; or rather, perhaps, materials for letters; as we might say, *paper*. Herodotus often uses βιβλίον to denote a *letter*. The same may be said of the βιβλία which were publicly sold at Athens in the time of Eupolis: see Meineke, *Fragm. Com. Græc.* Vol. II. p. 550.

[143] Bibl. cod. 57. It is thus used in the Christian epigram of *Anth. Pal.* I. 28, ὃς τόδε τεῦχος ἔγραψεν ἑαῖς χείρεσσι Μαρῖνος: and see Jacobs, Vol. III. p. 13.

[144] Photius, Moeris, and Hesychius in τεῦχος. Compare Ritschl, *die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken*, p. 135.

[145] De Wette, *Einl. in das A. T.* § 138. De Wette seems not to consider this division as of great antiquity; for he remarks that it was known to Josephus (*cont. Apion.* I. 8). A volume was likewise called τόμος and τομάριον by the later Greeks: Ducange, *Gloss. Infim. Græc.* in v. Compare the description of the works of Antisthenes in ten τόμοι, in Diog. Laert. VI. § 15–18.

[146] The cases in which *volumen* signifies a book in the sense of a portion of a literary work are very numerous. See *e. g.* Cicero Tusc. Quest. III. 3, and Facciolati in v.

roll of papyrus or parchment, acquired the same meaning. In the preface to the history of Dictys of Crete, it is said that, agreeably to the directions of Idomeneus, he composed the annals of the Trojan war, which he included in nine books, and wrote them upon lime-bark, in Phœnician letters; this work was, by his direction, buried with him in a leaden chest[147]; and, by the accident of an earthquake, discovered in the thirteenth year of the Emperor Nero, who, having obtained possession of them, caused them to be translated. If there was no other proof of the late date of this work, the familiar mention of the division into books would be alone sufficient to demonstrate the recency of its fabrication.

It may be observed, finally, that it is doubtful whether the early Greek writers prefixed any titles to their works. At least, the diversity in the titles by which their works are cited both by other writers and themselves, not to mention the variations in the manuscripts which have come down to our times, renders this uncertain[148]. Probably, the histories of Thucydides and Herodotus were written continuously without any division of words, and still less of paragraphs, or chapters, or books, and also without any superscription, just in the manner in which the Athenian decrees were engraved upon stone. In later times, however, the author prefixed a title to his own composition; as is shewn by the first couplet of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*.

To return to the question which it has been attempted in the preceding pages to determine. If it should be admitted that the practice of dividing literary compositions into books was not introduced in Greece until after the age of Alexander, all arguments respecting the form of the Hellenics of Xenophon, and the relations of its several parts, which are founded on the actual number of its books, must fall to the ground. Even if it should be thought

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[147] Igitur de toto bello novem volumina in tilias digessit Phœniceis litteris. *Prol. in Dict.* Compare Dederich, Introd. p. xv. who thinks that the number *nine* was borrowed from that of the books of Herodotus. The bark of the tilia is not, so far as I know, mentioned elsewhere as a writing material; but Pliny H. N. xvi. 25, mentions the *tenues tunicæ* between the bark and the wood in this tree.

[148] Littré remarks that the titles of the Hippocratean treatises did not originate with the authors: Tom. i. p. 150–2: compare p. 327. In the work on the Parts of Animals, Aristotle cites his History of Animals as ἡ ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τὰ ζῷα (iii. 14), αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ περὶ τὰ ζῷα (iv. 5), αἱ ἱστορίαι αἱ περὶ τῶν ζῴων (ii. 17), and ἡ ζωικὴ ἱστορία (iii. 5). These variations, however slight they may be, prove the absence of a fixed title.

that the period of the introduction of this practice cannot be fixed with any near approach to accuracy, it must be admitted that the extant writings of a date anterior to the Alexandrine age exhibit no traces of a division into books by the authors themselves, and consequently that all reasonings assuming the authenticity of these divisions, rest upon an insecure foundation.

Addendum to p. 21.

The following are other passages in which Aristotle refers to a portion of one of his works by a description of the subject treated in it. Rhet. I. 10. § 17, περὶ μὲν οὖν τίνα ἐστὶν ἡ ὀργή, δῆλον ἔσται ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν παθῶν; where Buhle says, "Non innuuntur singulares et diversi Aristotelis libri, sed respexit philosophus ad Rhet. II. 2." Ibid. § 19, περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον. II. 19. § 26, εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμβουλευτικοῖς περί τε μεγέθους ἀγαθῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μείζονος ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλάττονος. In these two passages Aristotle describes that portion of the first book of his Rhetoric which contains the topics relating to deliberative oratory, by the name συμβουλευτικά; the chapters referred to are 6 and 7. In like manner, in the Treatise on the Generation of Animals, IV. 3, he says, εἴρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν διωρισμένοις, where the reference is to the treatise *De Gener. et Corrupt.* I. 7. In the treatise περὶ αἰσθήσεως, c. 4, he says, ὥσπερ εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ στοιχείων, referring to *De Gener. et Corrupt.* II. 2 and 3. In the same treatise, c. 3, Aristotle twice cites himself ἐν τοῖς περὶ μίξεως, where (as Menage on Diog. Laert. V. 25 observes) the reference is not to a separate treatise, but to his own remarks in *De Gener. et Corrupt.* I. 10. Jonsius *De Script. Hist. Philos.* p. 17, observes that Diogenes has, from the citations in the Rhetoric, and the Treatises on the Generation of Animals and on Sensation, fabricated three non-existing treatises, περὶ συμβουλίας, περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν ἢ πεπονθέναι, and περὶ στοιχείων, and inserted them in his list of Aristotle's works (v. 22, 23, 25); to which it may be added, that from the first citation in the Rhetoric, he has fabricated the treatise περὶ παθῶν ὀργῆς, which he likewise attributes to Aristotle (ib. 23).

G. C. Lewis.

II.

ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF ψυχὴ AND εἴδωλον IN THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. BY DR. K. H. W. VOELCKER. (GIESSEN. 1825.)

Translated from the German by C. P. MASON, B. A.

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§ 1. THE following remarks are intended to bring more prominently into notice, and define with greater precision, some points in the Homeric psychology, respecting which the opinions adopted in the commentaries, and the writings relating to this subject, appeared to me either incorrect, or vague and indeterminate. They must therefore be rather considered as supplementary than as aiming at completeness, and are to be judged accordingly.

When a man departs from life, the ψυχή, according to the Homeric belief, leaves the body; and this ψυχὴ continues to exist in Hades. The word ψυχὴ, however, in Homer signifies only the breath and the life, never, as in the language of later times, the spirit or soul. Among the expressions in the Iliad and Odyssey for the animating and spiritual principle in man, the most important are ἦτορ, στῆθος, κραδίη, and φρένες. They denote different localities of the vital powers in the body; and as in all languages, for reasons easy to be understood, usage mostly unites the animating and the spiritual in the same expression, (as for example, from *animus* and *anima* are derived *animal, animans*) they comprehend the mental part in their signification; but being organs of the body, which are annihilated with it, they cannot pass into Hades. Θυμὸς, νόος, and μένος are not local, and at death they leave the corpse; but it is worthy of remark, that they are never said to go into Hades. On the contrary, (as this circumstance alone is sufficient to prove), their existence ceases with that of the body[1]. We arrive therefore at this result, that according to the belief of the Homeric age, it is not the soul or spirit which con-

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[1] Comp. *e.g. Il.* XVI. 861. *Od.* X. 497. The νοῦς is the thinking and reflecting faculty, μένος the sense or disposition; neither however are abstract, or objectively independent things. Comp. Halbkart, *Psychologia Homerica*, p. 19, f. The θυμὸς belongs to animals likewise, (*Il.* ψ, 880. *Od.* γ, 445. κ, 163), but it can never, like the ψυχή, enter independently into the lower world; on the contrary, there is here a marked distinction. Thus the mother of Ulysses (*Od.* XI. 219 ff.) says of the shades of the dead:

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα ἶνες ἔχουσιν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν τε πυρὸς κρατερὸν μένος αἰθομένοιο
δαμνῇ, ἐπεί κε πρῶτα λίπῃ λεύκ' ὀστέα θυμός·
ψυχὴ δ', ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος, ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.

Halbkart therefore (l. l. p. 9. comp. below) is mistaken, and Voss's translation here does not express the sense. Respecting the fluctuations in the signification of θυμὸς and νοῦς, vid. l. l. p. 16. 19. Of many of the faculties of the soul Homer is entirely ignorant (p. 17).

tinues to exist after death. If we consider how far acquaintance with, and reflection on the nature of, mind had been developed, such a result will not be unexpected. For Homer nowhere shews a knowledge of the mind as something independent, and, as such, opposed to the body, which continued to exist separate or separable from it. Nowhere is the idea of spirit conceived more independently than that of life itself. So corporeal indeed is the mind, that the dead in Hades are said to be destitute of mental faculties, for the very reason that they have no body; they must first drink blood, because the faculties of the mind are altogether connected with bodily strength and animation. The possession of mind is indeed regarded as an advantage enjoyed by men over animals[2], and sufficiently recognized as something different from the body, but not as self-existent and independent of it; on the contrary, the mental faculties appear only as properties and powers of the whole man, which live so long as the body lives, and in death leave it and cease to exist. Therefore it may be said, that in reference to mind and body, Homer had formed his conception of man neither as one, nor as two.

§ 2. Reflection then had not advanced so far, as to conceive the soul existing *independently* after death; but the belief in a future existence rested on more material notions, and, as will be shewn, had been fashioned and formed entirely out of rude inferences from sensible impressions. The word ψυχὴ, according to its derivation from ψύχω[3], is primarily the breath, the *air* which we exhale and inhale, and this idea lies at the bottom of all the significations of the word in the language of Homer. But as the breath is the one visible condition of life, which, with the second principle of life according to the conceptions of the ancients, the blood, has its seat in the breast, the word came to signify more ordinarily *the life*, without however altogether giving up the secondary meaning of *breath*. The latter meaning is preserved in those passages where it is said of the ψυχὴ, that it has escaped from the ἕρκος ὀδόντων. Among the Greeks since the time of Anaxagoras[4], (hence this was the doctrine of his disciple Euripides[5],) the æther was looked upon

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[2] Comp. *Od.* x. 237. ff.

[3] Hesych. and Phavorin. in ψυχαὶ and ψυχὴ; Eustath. p. 16. 18. Voss, *Etymol.* voc. *animus;* Halbk. l. l. p. 4. Comp. Plut. *de Stoicor. Repugnant.* p. 1052. f.

[4] Barnes on Eurip. *Suppl.* 1139. Anaxagoras distinguished the ψυχὴ as the principle of animality from the νοῦς as the principle of reason. Tennemann, *Gesch. d. Ph.* I. p. 226.

[5] *E. g.* Eurip. *Suppl.* 532 ff. 1139. *Helen.* 590. 618. 1022. 1135, and the frag-

as the cause of life in man, and the vivifying principle in the whole of nature; so that many confound it with the *intelligence* of Anaxagoras. According to Anaximenes, Diogenes of Apollonia, and others also, the soul was nothing but air—probably in the spirit of the common notions on the subject[6]. Subsequently the word ψυχή in a *scientific* sense continued to denote completely the Homeric idea of vital activity, and in so far was regarded as the lowest element of the entire soul, which is common at the same time to animals and plants[7].

The ψυχή with which in the upper world we have become acquainted under the forms of air and life, meets us in Hades; and it must be the same, for it is said to go into Hades[8]. It is the ψυχή therefore, and not the soul, which continues to exist. This assumption rested upon very natural inferences. For when a man dies a natural death, the breath which leaves him appears to the senses as the cause of life. Though it has vanished, all the other parts of the body remain. It alone has gone, and it alone therefore can be in Hades; it is the origin of life, it will therefore continue to live and last. The psyche however can escape through a wound[9]. In this instance it is so material, that an opening is necessary for it to depart through.

§ 3. In what way, then, are we to conceive the continued existence of this psyche? The word εἴδωλον conducts us to the right explanation—a word which with reference to this point has hitherto been entirely neglected, and yet makes everything clear. Εἴδωλον and ψυχή are synonymous, or rather εἴδωλον is the explanation of ψυχή[10]. Formed from εἴδω, εἴδομαι[11], it comprehends the three significations of εἴδομαι, *being seen*, *seeming*, and *resem-*

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ments in Clem. Alex. p. 435. ed. Par. 750. Sext. Emp. adv. Mathem. x. 315 and p. 360. Philo-Jud. p. 948. M. Antonin. VII. 50. Plut. *Opp. Mor.* p. 1675.

[6] Tennemann. l.l. p. 737.

[7] *E. g.* by the Pythagoreans. According to Philolaus, the respiration and the life of the cosmus is the one ψυχή. p. 170. ed. Böckh.

[8] Comp. *Od.* x. 560 with XI. 51 and 83.

[9] Halbk. p. 54 f.

[10] See *Il.* XXIII. 72. 104. Comp. *Od.* XXIV. 14. XI. 51. 65. Comp. with 83. Thus the νεκροί, which are frequently explained by ψυχαὶ νεκύων, interpreted as being βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων. *Od.* XI. 475. comp. 34. 37, and the dead, whom Theoclymenus sees ascend out of Erebus, are denoted simply by εἴδωλα, *Od.* XX. 355. See Eustath. p. 1288. 24. The same is also taught by Eustath. 1679. 60 ff. 1680. 1 ff.; but he remarks that according to *Od.* XI. 212, the εἴδωλον is ἀμενηνότερον than the ψυχή. Incorrectly. For the sense of the passage is, that Ulysses had not before known the nature of the ψυχαί, and now for the first time perceives them to be εἴδωλα. The explanation of his mother (215 ff.) has reference to this.

[11] Comp. Schol. *Od.* XI. 83, ed
The principal passage respectir
is Schol. Venet. *Il.* ε, 449, and

blance or *similarity*. When *e.g.* Pallas Athene sends a dream to the mourning Penelope, who fancies she sees Iphthime, the daughter of Icarius, the appearance of this Iphthime was in the proper sense an εἴδωλον[12], as the poet calls it. For it was an *apparition*, but only a *phantom*, not the true Iphthime, although it bore a perfect resemblance to her. It was not however the soul of Iphthime divested of the body. Whether we are to regard the phantom as composed of air, we will not decide, but the eidolon is manifestly the resemblance of a man, as men appear in dreams, with the form, dress, mien, &c. of the real person.

Another eidolon was the phantom resembling Æneas, which Apollo placed before the eyes of the Trojans and Greeks[13]. Whether this likewise was composed of air we are not informed.

If it be true that εἴδωλον contains the explanation of ψυχὴ, the above three characteristics must also belong to the ψυχαὶ of the dead. And such in reality is the case, and they denote precisely the nature of them. They are *apparitions*, whether as they ascend out of Hades and shew themselves to Ulysses, or manifest themselves in dreams, as Patroclus to Achilles. These shades are not the real men whose image they represent[14], but only phantoms and deceptive appearances, although in all respects completely like the original. It is no more the body which continues to subsist than the soul; it is merely the eidolon. It is the eidolon neither of the body, nor of the soul alone, but of the whole man, the αὐτός; as in the beginning of the Iliad it is said of Achilles that he sent the *souls* of the heroes to Hades, but gave *them* as a prey to the dogs and birds.

§ 4. The nature of the eidola is still more precisely defined by the ideas of *air* and *life*, which, in accordance with its etymology, have been pointed out in the word ψυχή. It is a prolongation of life;—on that point there is no doubt. But the airy nature of these beings and the other notions with which the etymology of both words has already furnished us, admits of

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Suidas s. v. Comp. Heyne on *Il.* 1.1. and on the same passage Jacobs and the interpreters on Hesych. Alb. Tom. 1. p. 1101. Schol. ed. Buttm. *Od.* XI. 476. Fulgent. Myth. 1. 1. p. 30.

[12] *Od.* IV. 795 ff.

[13] *Il.* V. 449. 451. Comp. Eustath. on the passage 569. 44.

[14] Exactly in this sense εἴδωλον is the image of a god. Comp. Hesych. s. v. Ἰδέα, εἶδη, ἰδόν, &c. with the remarks in Alberti's edition, and J. G. Vossius, *Theol. Gent.* 1. 3. Respecting the difference between imago and idolum, Dionys. Voss. on Mos. Maimonid. *de Idolatria*. P. 8.

further confirmation by Homeric passages. The usage handed down in the language of explaining εἴδωλον by νεφέλη[15] would of itself be sufficient to attest that these forms were composed of air, even if expressions in Homer himself did not sufficiently demonstrate the point. When Achilles desired to embrace the form of Patroclus, which had appeared to him out of the lower world, it sank down into the earth like *smoke*[16]. Immediately after he has received this proof of the nature of the dead person, he exclaims in astonishment:

> Ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τις ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
> ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον. (l. 104. comp. 106.)

If we would press the words in this passage, ψυχὴ ought not to be taken in the signification of eidolon; for Achilles experiences something to him altogether new and unheard of, and therefore does not know the expression ψυχὴ in the sense of a phantom of the lower world. He is acquainted with it only in the sense of breath and life, and cannot take it in a novel signification. It should therefore be interpreted *life:* "There is then in Hades also a kind (τὶς) of life, for that *part of Patroclus which continues to subsist* (106) appeared to me in this night." What notion the hero formed of this continuance, is defined by the explanatory καὶ, after the manner of a *phantom*, in the form of Patroclus. For he had seen and experienced that it was an εἴδωλον.

The airy nature of these beings is denoted by several epithets. They are called ἀκήριοι, νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, &c. When Ulysses seeks to embrace his mother, she thrice vanishes out of his hands, σκιῇ εἴκελον ἢ καὶ ὀνείρῳ, where the neuter εἴκελον should be ob-

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[15] *E.g.* Eurip. *Helen.* 705. 707. 750. 1135. 1219. Pind. *Pyth.* II. 36 ff. &c. In these passages of Euripides indeed εἴδωλον no longer denotes an airy image; but that it can nevertheless be called νεφέλη, shews of what kind we are to suppose the Homeric eidola to be, since the expression νεφέλη was justified by the usage of the language. The explanation *ex ære* or *æthere compingens* (l. 34) is correct; the punctuation of the passage in Matthiæ of itself points to the correct interpretation. Comp. vs. 1670—1676. 65 with 1219. 612. The lines 582 ff. are also to be understood as meaning only that it is the æther which enlivens the body, according to the doctrine of Euripides, (comp. above note 5, and my *Mythologie des Japet. Geschlechtes*, p. 333,) not which forms it. The body of Helen was formed of water and earth, a work of Here, v. 584, ὅθεν κ.τ.λ. accordingly has reference to this heavenly origin, not to the formation out of air, see l. 34, &c. Respecting the nephele of Ixion, see Böttiger *Vasengem.* I. 3, 120 f. Anmerk. Comp. Heyne in Hermann *Mythol. der Lyriker*, II. 346, and Müller's *Orchomenos*, p. 168.

[16] *Il.* XXIII. 100. Respecting ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, Eust. 1688. 30.

served[17]. They are themselves called σκιαὶ[18], and their nature is described particularly *Od.* XI. 219 ff:

> οὐ γὰρ ἔτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα ἶνες ἔχουσιν,
> ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν τε πυρὸς κρατερὸν μένος αἰθομένοιο
> δαμνᾷ, ἐπεί κε πρῶτα λίπῃ λεύκ' ὀστέα θυμός·
> ψυχὴ δ', ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος, ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται[19].

The interpretations of the ancients likewise are in favour of the formation from air[20].

§ 5. The immaterial nature of these forms is further confirmed by the circumstance, that they are devoid of sense and consciousness, until they have drunk blood. This belief again is a natural deduction from certain sensible impressions. The two main causes of life, with which the Homeric world is acquainted, are the breath and the blood. The seat of both is conceived to be in the breast. The use of the senses and the mental faculties was naturally connected with the idea of life, as distinguished from the absence of it. In death the psyche goes into Hades, but the blood remains in the body in the upper world, or streams through a wound into the ground. Hence, the shades of the dead are destitute of blood, and their existence is only a kind of half life, because only one cause of it, the breath, is present: the blood is wanting, and they are therefore destitute of everything corporeal. As soon as the corporeal element is added, sense returns; and therefore they drink blood, which is associated with breath. In like manner later philosophers, as Empedocles and Critias, placed the chief seat of the soul in the blood, and according to the Pythagoreans, the soul derives its nourishment from that source. Diogenes of Apollonia and others entertained similar notions.

Those parts of the body in which the blood and the breath together have their seat, as στῆθος, ἦτορ, κραδίη, are therefore seats of the mental faculties. Among these we must likewise enumerate the φρένες[21]; and because blood, and the power of reflection, are both wanting in the dead, the latter are called ἀφραδέες. That we must consider the two as inseparably connected, is proved

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[17] *Od.* XI. 206.

[18] *Od.* X. 495.

[19] Comp. I. 392, and Eurip. *Phoen.* 1543 f. *Alcest.* 1157, ed. Matth.

[20] Schol. Venet. on *Il.* XXIII. 449. Eustath. 1672, 18 ff. Also the τρίζειν, which is peculiar to the shade, appears to be derived from the same source. Comp. Halbk. p. 98 ff.

[21] As the præcordia, receptaculum sanguinis. See the interpreters on *Od.* IX. 301.

by the circumstance that with the blood consciousness returns. But the reference to the corporeal sense appears to be predominant, when Achilles cannot grasp the airy form of Patroclus, and, declaring it to be an eidolon, adds:

ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν[22].

Unless we make him anticipate his experience and knowledge, (as he would if ψυχὴ in l. 104. 106 is explained to mean a shadowy phantom, and not life,) φρένες can here have only a corporeal sense, and cannot signify the understanding in the sense in which the φρένες are retained in Hades. Of their nature, however, he can as yet have no knowledge, and he could only assert what he had experienced, viz. that the body was wanting. For, as the ancients remarked on this passage, Patroclus had been in full possession of his senses when he had been speaking with his friend. But at all events, if we take the passage as most interpreters do, the assertion I made above respecting ψυχὴ must hold good.

To the shade of Teiresias alone, as a mark of special favour, is it granted to retain his understanding[23], (and here φρένες is mental, not corporeal); all the others are destitute of it, which the post-homeric fable expressed by means of the stream Lethe. An exception is formed, as in the cases of Patroclus and Elpenor, by those whose bodies are yet *unburned and unburied*[24], and therefore their corporeal part has not been annihilated. Moreover, such only could appear to those who remained on the earth, though in the lyric poets and the tragedians the supposition has been changed[25]. Even his own mother does not recognise Ulysses, without having drunk blood[26]. All have a thirst for blood: even Teiresias wishes to refresh himself with it, as a reward for his prophecies[27]; manifestly a result of the belief that Hades is a joyless place[28], a belief perfectly accordant with the cheerful spirit of the Greeks, in contrast with other races, who conceive death as

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[22] *Il.* XXIII. 104. Comp. Schol. Venet. and Heyne on the passage.

[23] *Od.* X. 493.

[24] Eustath. 1672, 41. 1288, 29. Schol. ed. Buttm. *Od.* 11, 51. Venet. on *Il.* XXIII. 65. In the spurious part of the Odyssey (XXIV.), however, the dead recognise each other without having drunk blood. The suitors, too, are there made to pass unburied into Hades, contrary to the example of Elpenor and Patroclus. See Schol. Villois. *Il.* ψ, 71, and there Porphyrius, and Heyne on the above-quoted passage.

[25] See *Mythologie des Japet. Gesch.* p. 266.

[26] Comp. *Od.* XI. 140—3. 147 f. 152. Eustath. 1677, 10.

[27] Eustath. 1674, 1[illegible] [illegible]n the case of Teiresias lik[illegible] to-phecy is only a con[illegible] ing the blood. Com[illegible]

[28] *Od.* λ, 488 ff. [illegible] symbolik, p. 206 ff.

the entrance to genuine bliss. The drinking of blood so enlivens and strengthens the dead by the re-acquisition of their corporeal part, that they are all able to predict the future[29]. The remark[30] that Ajax and Hercules recognised Ulysses without this preliminary condition, appears unfounded. The ancients themselves entertained the same opinion[31]. According to the context (l. 541 ff), Ajax, as well as the other shades, has drunk, only he does not, like the latter, relate his destiny. The expressions in l. 614 should simply be referred to the circumstance, that Hercules had not seen Ulysses while alive, and yet immediately recognises him, but do not exclude the idea that he had previously recovered his understanding in the same way as the other eidola. So in the case of others, the drinking of the blood is not expressly mentioned. Comp. 466 ff. 540 f. Besides, Teiresias is specially excepted, as the only one who retained his consciousness.

§ 6. From the idea of εἴδωλον, as exhibited above, it naturally follows, that the dead took with them into Hades the external form and figure of the once real man whom they represented. This is completely confirmed. Patroclus appears to his friend exactly as when he was alive:

πάντ' αὐτῷ, μέγεθός τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ', εἰκυῖα,
καὶ φωνὴν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροῖ εἵματα ἕστο. (*Il.* XXIII. 66.)

To Ulysses there appear in their former shape brides, youths, old men, girls, men with wounds and blood-stained armour[32]; he instantly recognises his mother, Atrides, Ajax, Achilles, &c. This is to be explained from the nature of the appearances in dreams with which the poet himself compares them[33]. It is always the exact copy of the real man, and that too as he was at the time of his death[34]. Their mental state is in like manner transplanted

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[29] Respecting the foundation and rise of this belief, comp. Halbkart l. l. p. 41. § 18. Heyne on *Il.* XVI. 854. XXII. 343 f. 358. in the Animadv. But the shades know nothing of what has passed during their abode in Hades. Comp. *Od.* λ, 454 ff. 491 ff. 616 ff. ω, 106 ff. It is only the future that they know; a notion correctly deduced from the circumstance that a peculiar prophetic power was attributed to the words of the dying. Comp. generally Creuzer, *Symb.* II. 455.

[30] Halbk. p. 97 f. Comp. Voss, *Antimb.* p. 207.

[31] Eustath. 1702. 47.

[32] *Od.* XI. 38. Comp. Halbkart p. 101—105. Heyne on *Il.* XXIII. 65 ff. Plutarch *de facie in orbe Lunæ* p. 945. a. Lucian, though only in an ironical sense, describes the nature of the eidola with perfect truth, Ver. Hist. T. I. p. 672. ed. Amstelod. 1687. Comp. Plat. *Phæd.* ed. Bip. p. 184: and Beck, *Allgem. Weltgeschichte*, I. 1. 420.

[33] *Od.* XI. 206. Eustath. 1672. 18—29. 1665, 31.

[34] Comp. Eustath. 1957, 11. Such was the belief still entertained by Antisthenes, Eust, 1288, 9. Schol. Venet. *Il.* XXIII. 65. and there Heyne.

beneath the earth. All in that region are represented by Homer as having remained the same.

The cause of this belief again rests upon a material conception, namely, that a continuation of life could be viewed only as a continuation of all present circumstances. The uneducated man knows of no life except what is enclosed within a certain portion of space[35], and if a part of man is to continue to subsist, the forms and outlines will be no other than the human. This is equally the case with respect to mental qualities, passions, and feelings, and the other circumstances of life. In every respect the lower world is a copy of the earth above. Notions of the same kind are found amongst many other uncivilized races[36]. Hence we may explain how the psyche in Hades can still have a θυμός[37], how Ajax can still hate, Priam still delight himself with the chase, Hercules draw his bow, &c.[38] Hence too we see how the eidola can still bear wounds on their forms. But as the conception of these beings was so varying and incorrect, that the ancient critics did not understand that circumstance, occasion was given for rejecting the five lines, *Od.* xi. 36—41[39]. In some measure also a difficulty arises as to how those airy forms could drink blood, how Sisyphus could roll the stone, Tityus have a liver, and Tantalus suffer hunger and thirst[40]. All this is to be explained by supposing that with respect to the posthumous prolongation of life, human circumstances and a human form assumed a fixed place in the belief; and that when that belief had been established these beings began to be spoken and thought of in a manner not reconcileable with their original character.

§ 7. The assumption of the continued existence of the dead in a human form, appears also to rest upon another inference from sensible impressions, which we shall here touch upon. Patroclus had appeared to Achilles from the lower world, the latter had been unable to embrace him, and thereupon he exclaims with a mournful voice, (*Il.* xxiii. 103):

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[35] Hence the notion of metensomatosis entertained by other races. See Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 419.

[36] Comp. Halbk. p. 102. 103. 109. Respecting Greek philosophemata of that kind comp. Eust. 1288, 40. 834, 59.

[37] Od. xi. 562. Halbkart, p. 9, and above, note (1).

[38] Halbkart, p. 101 ff.

[39] See Eustath. and Schol. ed. Buttm. in loco.

[40] Halbkart, p. 106 ff. To this also belongs the circumstance that the eidola weep. *Il.* ψ, 106. *Od.* λ, 390. 465, and that speech remains with them. Schol. Butt. xi. 51. Halbkart p. 100 f. comp. 97.

Ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τις ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν·
παννυχίη γάρ μοι Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο
ψυχὴ ἐφεστήκει γοόωσα τε, μυρομένη τε,
καί μοι ἕκαστ' ἐπέτελλεν· ἔϊκτο δὲ θέσκελον αὐτῷ.

As dreams brought before the mind the form of living persons, and the existence of such originals was confirmed by experience, so it would also happen that the dead shewed themselves to those asleep, and undoubtedly this assisted in awakening and strengthening the belief in an existence after death[41]. At least the example of Achilles expressly confirms this in the passage above adduced. But the body had remained behind in the upper world, therefore it must be an incorporeal existence. A dream brings before the sleeper the human form, and gives it human speech and feelings: which furnishes a fresh confirmation of the nature of the eidola—figures such as appear in dreams, as the poet himself calls them. Moreover, as would be the case in a dream, Patroclus stands by the head of the hero, and yet complete reality is attributed to this apparition. Here, however, we must take into account the belief of the age in the objective personality of dreams[42]; a doctrine which was taught in later times likewise[43].

In conclusion, I may mention the passage of which such strange and different interpretations have been given, and which by the ineffectual attempts to explain it, shews what indistinct or false conceptions have been formed of the nature of the Homeric shades in Hades. Ulysses says of Hercules, (*Od.* xi. 600):

Τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἡρακληείην
εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς, κ.τ.λ.[44]

Here εἴδωλον is taken quite simply in its truest meaning: the eidolon of Hercules, the mere phantom of him, is in the lower world, like that of all the other dead. But he has the advantage of having been exalted into a god, and so the true corporeal Hercules (αὐτὸς) is above in Olympus—in the same manner that in the beginning of the Iliad ψυχὴ and αὐτὸς are opposed to each other.

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[41] Comp. Halbkart, p. 4.

[42] Halbkart p. 15. 42 ff. Köppen, über Homers Leben und Gesänge, p. 100 f. ed. 1821.

[43] Eust. 1288, 28. 1518, 18. Respecting the eidola of Democritus, see Tennemann, *Gesch. der Philosophie*, i. 284. 293 f.

[44] Comp. Eurip. *Rhesus*, 960—970. and on *Od.* l. l. Eust. 1703. Schol. Buttm. 602. Lucian. in *Dialog. Diog. et Herc.* p. 298 f. Creuzer, *Symbolik*, ii. p. 455.

III.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROVINCIAL WORD *SONGLE.*

In the glossary of provincial words used in Herefordshire, (published in 1839), the following observation is made by the editor, p. 121: "A few words inserted in the list in Duncumb's *Topography of Herefordshire* have been omitted as not being known to be now current. For the same reason the word 'shackle,' which is said by Grose to mean stubble in Herefordshire, and the word 'Songal,' or 'Songle,' which is explained in Bailey's Dictionary (1735) to mean a handful of gleaned corn, in Herefordshire, have been omitted."

After the glossary in question was printed, I obtained from a friend of my own—the Rev. William Hopton, of Bishop's Frome, near Bromyard, in Herefordshire—some account of the word 'Songle,' as then current in his neighbourhood. His statement was to the following effect: "The word 'songle' is used in my country, and means a handful of leased corn after it has been *tied up.*"

The existence of any provincial expression supposed to be extinct, or hitherto unknown, is in itself worth ascertaining; and perhaps the present instance may be quoted as showing in a peculiar manner the interest which many attach to a single word thus rescued from oblivion. Such a word may connect itself with a long line of kindred terms, and may fill up a gap in a series, through which some wide spread analogy of forms existing in different languages is to be traced. I will not undertake to say that such is the case with the word now before us, but I think the facts to which it calls attention may be considered as not devoid of interest.

Buttmann, in his article on Λέγειν &c. (Fishlake's Tr. p. 402), says: "That the physical idea *to gather up,* take up separately, is the radical meaning of this verb, is proved also by its remarkable coincidence with the Latin *legere,* and the German *lesen;* nay, the proof is clearer, because the idea when transferred to language is different in the Greek from what it is in the Latin and German. In these two we see how the separate knowledge of marks or characters on a stone, a table, &c. appeared to the simple understanding as a picking up and collecting of them; with which

corresponds in the Greek ἀναγιγνώσκειν, and still more particularly the Ionic ἐπιλέξασθαι, *to read.* On the other hand, in the Greek the simple verb λέγειν proceeded without doubt through the idea of *gathering up* and *arranging* stones, or the like, to that of *counting* them (zählen); and thence, as in all languages to that of recounting or relating (erzählen); which last idea was by degrees generalized into that of *to say.* Compare the English verb *to tell,* and still more the Danish verb *tale,* which is synonymous with it."

Nothing can illustrate the original identity of the two senses of *tell* in English better than the fact that the controversy should have existed (which is yet unsettled) respecting the meaning of the passage in Milton's *l'Allegro*—

> And every shepherd tells his tale
> Under the hawthorn in the dale.

In this case, too, the ambiguity runs through two words, the verb and the derivative substantive. It may be added that the use of the phrase in Lord Surrey's sonnet, 'Description of Spring,'

> The turtle to her mate hath told her tale.

is strongly against the view advocated in Warton's note—The parallel analogy of *conter, conte,* and *raconter,* is too familiar to require a reference.

To return to the word 'songle'—the question is, whether it will not supply us with the means of carrying further the curious analogy between the primary and secondary senses of λέγειν—legere, and lesen, already remarked by Buttmann.

It can be shown that precisely a similar process has, in all probability, taken place in the word 'singen' and its kindred forms. In the first place, the modern sense of the German 'singen,' and of our verb *to sing,* is not its original one as applied to speech. Adelung (in v.) says: "It formerly signified also 'lesen,' 'hersagen,' as siggwan (pronounced singwan: see Zahn. Gr. p. 2) in Ulphilas; the Anglo-Saxon 'singan,' the Swedish 'sjunga,' and even 'singan' in Ottfried."

One passage in Ulphilas is Luke iv. 16. "Jah usstoth siggwan bokos," being a translation of "καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι." In Mark ii. 25,—"Niu ussuggwuth," is used for οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε, in the question of Jesus to the Pharisees, when they rebuked him for plucking the ears of corn on the sabbath—"Have ye never read what David did when he had need and was an hungered?"

In this case, therefore, the word does not necessarily imply reading aloud or reciting, nor does it do so in the passage Mark xii. 10, where it is again employed in a somewhat similar question.

Bosworth (in v.) in like manner gives—"To say, to pronounce —dicere," as among the meanings of the Anglo-Saxon 'singan,' though the quotation by which he supports this sense may not be considered as decisive.

Thus as regards the sense connected with speech, the forms of 'singen' are equivalent in meaning to 'legere' and 'lesen.' As regards the sense of collecting or binding together, the case is equally clear. Grimm (*Gram.* II. p. 36) has stated the connexion thus:—"Goth. siggwan legere litteras (but originally to *collect, sammeln, colligere*), afterwards to repeat that which was read, *recitare—canere.* Middle High German: singare, recitator poeta. Old Northern: sœngr (lectus). Middle High German: sange (manipulus—fasciculus)."

In Ziemann's *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch,* published at Quedlinburg in 1837, I find the verb *singen* given as meaning *to collect, to hold together*[1], as well as to *sing,* and to singe or scorch. The latter meaning too is noticed by Grimm, who appears to suspect that the notions may be connected through the crackling noise caused by fire. Ziemann also gives 'senge' and sange,' as meaning 'fange—manipulus.' The Anglo-Saxon 'sinc,' a collection or heap, is probably a kindred word (Bosworth in v.) Adelung (in v.) gives 'sênkel' as a word in which the leading idea is that of binding or connecting together; and he tells us that, among other

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[1] I give the following extract from Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua* (in v. *shingle*, p. 563), without at all asserting that the word shingle, as used in the iron forges, is connected with the word under discussion.

"*Shingle*, to beat or weld iron under a forge-hammer (see *bloom*). Both of these are terms constantly employed in the iron manufactories of Shropshire and Staffordshire.

"From a sow of iron rolled into the fire the workman melts off a piece called a *loop*, which they beat with iron sledges, and then hammer it gently, which beats out the cinder and dross, and then beat it thicker and stronger, till they bring it to a bloom, which is a square mass of about two feet long. This operation they call 'Shingling the loop.'"—Kennett's *Glossary*, MS. Lansd. Num. 1098. fol. 43, as quoted by Sir H. Ellis in the general introduction to *Domesday*, Vol. I. p. 137.

"Shingler, *s.*, a man employed in managing the iron whilst under a forge-hammer."

The word *shingle*, for a thin board to cover houses, is in Johnson. The German is *schindel* (see Adelung in v.) There can be little doubt that shingle is a corruption, and that, like most words connected with building, this came from the Latin *scindula* or *scandula* (see Ducange in vv.) The French word is *échandole.*—See Menage in v.

uses, a strap employed for binding clothes together is, in various parts of Germany, called by that name. 'Sênkel knüpfen,' was one of the terms applied to tying the witch's knot for the purpose of bewitching a new-married pair (see Grimm, *Mythologie*, p. 629). It may be suspected that 'sênkel' comes directly from cingulum.

It appears probable that the word 'sangen,' used by Luther, in his translation of the Bible, for roasted ears of corn, is connected rather with the sense of scorching or singeing; although Adelung seems to think otherwise (in v.) He says—"It would seem that this word signifies a bundle or heap (büschel) generally." I omit a quotation in which it is used with reference to hops, and is probably an error for 'stangen,' the hop-pole, but he then goes on—"In Kilian's Dutch Dictionary, sangh, sanghe is explained by *fasciculus spicarum;* but it is not found in Hoogstraten's *Woordboeck.*"

This last instance is completely identical with the sense of 'songle' as now existing in Herefordshire. 'Songowing' is stated to be used in Shropshire for gleaning; and in Wilbraham's *Glossary of some Words used in Cheshire* (p. 78), the following passage occurs: "Songow—Songal—gleaned corn—Songow—Songoe, Sangow, to go Sangowing—to glean, or go gleaning; generally supposed to be so named from picking up the single straws, *i. e.* singleing. The explanation given by Kilian, *Etym. Teut.* is however far preferable: he says, Sangh, Sanghe fasciculus spicarum. Germ. Sax. Sciamb. Sang. G. Sang. Angl. Songe. The same word Sanghe, manipulus spicarum, is found in Scherzius's German Dictionary. In Bailey's Dictionary, 8vo. 1735, we have 'Songal, Songle, *s.* a handful of gleaned corn; Herefordshire:' so that Kilian is certainly right in saying that Songe is an English word, which doubtless may be found in some old English authors, though it has escaped my observation. P.S. in Hyde *de Rel. Persarum*, p. 398, we read—pauperiores puellæ virgines tempore messis triticeas spicas legunt easque in parvum fasciculum, seu manipulum (Anglicè, Songoll) colligatas domum reportant."

Mr. Wilbraham adds in a note that Hyde was a Cheshire man.

I ought to refer to the relation that exists between our English word *to lease*, in the sense of gleaning, and the German *lesen*, as well as to the substantive *less*, gleaned corn. See the *Glossary of Herefordshire Words* in v. *Adelung* in v. *lesen.*

I think therefore the claim of the obscure provincial word 'Songle' to constitute a link in a series running parallel to the senses of λέγεω, *legere*, and *lesen*, as stated by Buttmann, will be held to be sufficiently established.

But the examples of this singular connexion between the idea of picking up, collecting, and tying together, and that of reading or speaking, do not stop here. Another instance is given in Grimm's *Grammar*, Vol. II. p. 27. It would appear that there is an old Northern verb—*raka*—colligere—whilst *rechen*, and its cognate form *rechnen*, meant *to say*—*to narrate* or *to tell*, in its double sense of *computare* and *narrare*. Adelung gives (in v. *Rechnen*) *rahhon*, as used by Kero in the sense of narrating, which is the meaning he says of *rechan* in Ottfried, and *rachan* in Notker. Rahnjan had the sense of *rechnen*, computare, in Ulphilas, Luke xiv. 28.

The Anglo-Saxon 'Racú' is equivalent to the modern German 'Sprache,' and also meant a narrative or discourse. (See Bosworth in v.) Whether, as Bosworth seems to assume, it is identical with the forms Sprache, &c., does not seem so clear; since 'Spraec—gespraec,' and the other forms immediately connected with it, existed at the same time. At any rate, it is a point which does not bear immediately on our present subject. Another instance of the same connexion of meanings is to be found in the relation to each other of the Gothic 'rodjan' to speak, and 'rathjân' to count or to collect; 'rodjan' is of course the representative of the old High German 'redon,' and the modern *reden*[2]. It is used in Ulphilas, Matth. ix. 18, and Mark i. 34. 'Rathjôn' occurs John vi. 11. Grimm points out this relation in the 4th Volume of his *Grammar*, p. 829, and illustrates it still further in a note to this passage. With this too agrees the fact, that the old sense of the substantive *Rath* in High German, was, according to Adelung in v., an assemblage or number of things, and thence wealth. This sense, it will be observed, is the foundation of the usual meaning of *Vorrath*, and probably of *Unrath*[3], rubbish.

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[2] It must often have struck every person that the English verb *read* bears exactly the same relation to the German *reden*, as the Latin *legere*, in the sense of *reading*, bears to the Greek λέγειν to speak.

[3] The German *un* in this case seems to play the part of the Greek α in such phrases as ἄθυτα ἱερά. Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 72. l. 16, (to which see Wolf's note). ἄοικον εἰσοίκησιν. Soph. *Phil.* 533—δῶρα ἄδωρα. Soph. *Aj.* 665, or the Ἴρος ἄιρος of Homer. *Od.* Σ. 72, and innumerable other cases, in all of which the existence of the thing is not negatived, but it is assumed to be so stripped of its characteristics

It seems impossible to leave this subject without adverting to one or two other words, which appear to bear traces of the same analogy of meanings, which we have been employed in considering. In *legere, lesen,* and λέγειν, three cognate senses of picking up, collecting, and uniting, have been referred to; in another Latin verb, *sero,* the two first of these are not to be traced. It seems to have two senses almost directly opposed to each other, and inflections corresponding respectively to these senses. The simple verb is sufficiently familiar to us in the sense of joining or connecting, as in Livy xxv. 6: "Non Deûm irâ, nec fato cujus lege immobilis rerum humanorum ordo *seritur.*" This meaning is still more apparent in the compounds *insero—insertio, adsero, assertio—consero, exsero,* &c. &c., and to it are appropriated the forms of participle and perfect *serui* and *sertum,* whilst *sevi* and *satum* belong to the sense of sowing or scattering. Whether these two verbs were originally connected, and if so, in what manner, it is not necessary for us to discuss in this place; but the apparent relation of σπείρα, in the sense of a coil or fold to the verb which I shall presently consider, viz. εἴρω, is remarked by Messrs. Scott and Liddell in the Greek and English Lexicon, (in v. σπείρα) on the one hand, and to σπείρω on the other, is at least remarkable[4]. It is curious also that the

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teristics and useful qualities, as to be virtually wanting. Similar instances in Latin are to be found in the line of Catullus, (LXIV. 83):

Funera Cecropiæ *ne-funera* portarentur—

and in the phrase of Cicero. *Phil.* I. 2, *insepultam sepulturam.*

[4] σπείρα τριχῶν (Pollux ap. Schneider in v.) is a tress of hair—σπεῖρον (*Od.* Ω. 137) is the shroud to be wrapped round the body—σπάργανα (Aristoph. *Ach.* 406) and σπαργανώματα were, as we know, αἱ πρῶται φασκίαι καὶ οἱ δεσμοὶ τῶν ἀρτιτόκων παιδίων—(Photius in v.) It is thus remarkable that we have *sermo, sertum,* &c. derived from *sero,* which appears to have a sort of double sense of joining, and of sowing or scattering, whilst σπείρα, and perhaps εἴρω lead us to the Greek σπείρω, and the Latin *spargo*; and whilst the same resemblance of radical sounds may be traced in the German *spreiten, spreitzen, spreiten, sprengen, spreu,* as well as in the English *spread,* all of which latter set involve, to a certain extent, the idea of scattering or dispersing.

Another curious analogy is the parallelism of *sagen* to say, *sägen* to saw, and *säen* to sow, in German, corresponding to *sermo, serra, serro,* and *sero,* in Latin. The verbal substantive of *say* and *saw* in our own language, have, in the case of '*wise saws*' for proverbs, become identical in sound.

It is moreover curious that the *r* should be wanting in the form of perfect and participle belonging to *sero,* in the sense of sowing, and that the Latin form is thus brought still nearer to the German *säen,* and more distinctly separated from *sero* in the sense of joining. The guttural sound does not appear to be found in the Gothic *sajan,* the Anglo-Saxon *sawan,* or any of the kindred Teutonic forms, (see Bosworth *A.S. Dict.* in v.) The old

perfect *serui*, should possess in the second syllable the sound of *u* or *v*, which is so nearly allied to that of *b* in the second syllable of *verbum*—the interchange of *s* and *v* as an initial does not present much difficulty, (see *Phil. Museum* I. 413); and it does not seem improbable that *verbum* and *sermo* may be very nearly connected (compare Thiersch *Gr. Gr.* §. 232. 53). *Sermo* at any rate, it will be admitted, is more or less directly derived from *sero* in the sense of joining or tying together. Plautus uses *sermonem serere* as if it meant nothing more than 'to talk,' as in the passage of the Miles Gloriosus, III. 1, 105: "Mihi quæ hujus similes sermones serat." Varro says, "*Sermo*, opinor, est a *serie* unde *serta;* etiam in vestimento *sartum* quod comprehensum; *sermo* enim non potest in uno homine esse solo, sed ubi oratio cum altero conjuncta. Sic *conserere* manum dicimus cum hoste; sic ex jure manu consertum vocare. Hinc *adserere* manu in libertatem quem prendimus." (Varro *de L. L.* Müller, p. 97). What follows is so mutilated as to be unintelligible. Whether *sermo* is derived from *sero* through *series*, or independently of the latter word, is immaterial for our present purpose; its connexion with *series* reminds us of the apparent relation of the Greek *ἔπος, εἴπειν*, to *ἕπω*, or rather *ἕπομαι*, sequor. Varro appears to consider *sermo* as denoting discourse between persons rather than speech; and if this be so, our comparison with *λέγειν, λόγος*, &c. would be scarcely applicable. In the one case the idea of joining or putting together would have

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Roman goddess Seia, (a serendo according to Macrobius, I. Saturn. 16) the word *seges*, and the Latin proper names *Seius* and *Sejanus*, are all probably connected with the same root, (compare Varro. Müller, p. 15, for *seges*); as regards the proper names, this would be likely enough from the reverence for agriculture entertained by the early Romans. The name of Seius is at any rate very old, as may be inferred both from the temple of Fortuna, 'quam *Seiam* appellant,' (Plin. XXXVI. 22) said to have been built by Servius Tullius, and from the common occurrence of *Seius* and *Seia* in the formulæ of the Roman law—*e. g.* "Si heres meus filiam suam Titio in matrimonium collocaverit X. Seio dato," Gaius, § 235. *Sejanus* is of course only the adjectival form from *Seius*. The father of Sejanus was Seius Strabo (Tacit. *Annal.* IV. 1.) The horse of Cn. Sejus, of which Gellius (III. 9) tells the story as having brought destruction to its successive masters, Dolabella, Cassius, and Antony, was called "Equus Sejanus" and hence the proverb 'Ille homo habet equum Sejanum.' Zumpt (*Lat. Gramm.* p. 197) appears to think that the occasional confusion between the two sets of forms of the perfect and participle in good authors in the use of the compounds *inserere* and *conserere* proves the identity of the two roots, and that *sero* to join, and *sero* to scatter, are in fact the same word. The case may be so but the proof seems insufficient, for in process of time such a confusion might easily creep into use, even with good writers, especially in derivative words, where the original sense of the root is often nearly obliterated.

reference to the persons, in the other, to the structure of language itself. A conjecture of this kind, however, is not necessarily to be taken for granted on Varro's authority; and the use of *sermo* for language, as in Corn. Nepos. (Vit. Annibal. *sub finem*) "libri Græco sermone confecti," is perhaps against it. On *asserere, sertor* &c. the reader may refer to Müller's *Festus*, pp. 25. l. 10; 340. l. 23[5]. One thing is clear, *sertum* meant a garland or a bundle of flowers tied up, just as our word *songle* means a bundle of ears of corn tied up. We have also possibly the word *servia* a nosegay, in the passage of Pliny, xxi. 2, "Cum vero e floribus fierent serta, a serendo *serviæ* appellabantur." I do not however believe in the existence of such a word as the conjectural reading and *serieve* is probably the correct one (Facciol. in v.) Whether *sera*, a padlock, is connected with *sero*, I will not undertake to say, (compare Varro *de L.L.* Müller, p. 165).

We must next turn to the Greek εἴρω, and its kindred forms, which is used, as every one knows, by Homer in the sense of to say. εἴρω itself, Thiersch observes, occurs only in the Odyssey—(*Gr. Gr.* § 232. 53.) The middle forms, εἴρομαι and ἴρομαι appear to mean "to cause another person to say for your information, or inquire about." Whether there is or is not any truth in what has been referred to above in the possible relation of *sero* and *sermo*, to *verbum*, it is highly probable, as Thiersch (*Gr. Gr.* § 232. 56) conjectures, that the latter is connected with the root ερε, ϝερϝ—(compare Payne Knight, Proleg. in v. ϝερέω). Thiersch indeed (*Gr. Gr.* § 157. 5) enumerates ἐρέω and ἐρέομαι among the words which have traces of the digamma still remaining in Homer's time; I do not now know the passages on which this assertion rests. Hesiod uses a longer form, εἰρεῦσαι, Θ. 38, and there seems no reason to doubt the reading. Now it is difficult to deny the relationship between *sero*, *series*, &c. and εἴρω, with its derivatives, (compare the verbal substantives εἷρμος, ὅρμος, with *sermo*). This latter verb meant especially to join or string together; and the best instances of such a use in Homer are such passages as that remarkable one in the tale of Eumæus, how he was stolen when a child: *Odyss.* ο. 459—

χρύσεον ὅρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλεκτροῖσιν ἔερτο·

'a golden necklace *inter-strung* with beads of amber.'

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[5] Müller, in his note to the former of these two, states that he was wrong in admitting the correction of the MSS. in the passage of Varro quoted above of *asserere manu* for *asserere manum*. The Festus was edited several years after the Varro.

And again, that in *Od.* Σ. 295, where Eurymachus is made to present Penelope with a similar ornament—

> Ὅρμον δ' Εὐρυμάχῳ πολυδαίδαλον αὐτίκ' ἔνεικεν
> Χρύσεον, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, ἠέλιον ὥς,
> Ἕρματα δ' Εὐρυδάμαντι δύω θεράποντες ἔνεικαν
> Τρίγληνα, μορόεντα· χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή.

(Compare Buttmann *Gr. Gr.* II. 126. *Lexilogus* Transl. p. 300. *Mythologus.* II. 337). I have quoted the whole of the last passage, because we have there not only the participle ἐερμένον, but also the two substantives derived from the same stock—ὅρμος a necklace, and ἕρμα an earring. It will be observed that εἕρτο and ἐερμένον have the sign of the digamma afforded by the retention of the syllabic augment. Herodotus describes the portable huts of the Nomades as οἰκήματα σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνερμένων περὶ σχοίνους, (IV. 190). Buttmann, *Gr. Gr.* II. p. 126, quotes the phrase ἐνειρμένος πέδαις as cited from some author or other (irgendwoher) by Suidas. This last expression leads us to the word εἕρερος which occurs in the single passage in the Odyssey, Θ. 529, for slavery—

> εἕρερον εἰσανάγουσι πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ διζύν.

The Scholiast is very much embarrassed for the derivation of the word, but comforts himself by adding "ἅπαξ δὲ εἴρηται ἡ λέξις." There seems no doubt that it meant bondage, or slavery; and it was probably connected with εἴρω in the sense of tying, or binding. It then becomes almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is also connected with *servio* and *servitus* in Latin, in which we again observe the sound of *v*, or of the digamma in the second syllable, as in *verbum*, already referred to above. Festus (in v.) has preserved the form *eritudo* for servitudo—in which both the *s* which represents the initial digamma, and the *b* or *v*, would have disappeared. It is fair however to say that Placidus, (see Baehr, *Gesch. der Röm. Lit.* I. p. 791. Müller, *Festus* ad l. c.) derives *eritudo* from *era*, for *hera domina*, an etymology which does not sound very plausible.

The reader may probably be wearied with this rambling disputation, made up as it is of references to other writers on etymology, and containing little original matter. It would be useless to sum up the conclusions which have already suggested themselves in the discussion of the various forms. I am only anxious to repeat, that we never know how wide a field for speculation

and reflection may be opened by the recovery and preservation of a single obscure provincialism; and that in contributing to such an object, we may be preparing the materials for observations on language, far more important than I have in this instance been able to submit to the reader.

EDMUND W. HEAD.

IV.

ON THE RIVERS OF SUSIANA, AND THE EULÆUS AND CHOASPES.

IN the third volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* I made some remarks on the site of Susa, in reply to the arguments of Von Hammer, in his "Geographical Memoir on Persia," (*Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Société de Géographie*, Tom. II. Paris). Von Hammer contends that Touster or Shuster on the east bank of the Karoon, or, as it is perhaps more correctly written, Kuran, is the site of Susa. I have nothing to add to the arguments alleged against Von Hammer for the purpose of shewing that he is mistaken, and that Sus near the east bank of the Kerah, or, as it is written by the latest authorities, Kerkhah, is the true site of Susa. On this point there is no difference of opinion among those who have well examined the subject.

But the question of the site of Susa cannot be separated from that of the rivers of Susiana, and every thing that contributes to the identification of the rivers of this district must also add to the evidence in support of one or other of the supposed sites of Susa. If we compare the map of D'Anville, which accompanies his Memoir on the Euphrates and the Tigris, with our present maps, it will be obvious that we are now enabled to determine the question of the site of Susa, and the identification of the rivers of Susiana, in a more satisfactory manner than the distinguished French geographer could do, who has identified Susa with Shuster. My map of Persia, which was published some years ago by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, is sufficient to show that the site of Sus corresponds to

Susa; but since the publication of that map more correct information has been obtained, and I refer to the ninth volume of the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, and the map which it contains, to illustrate Major Rawlinson's route from Zohab to Khuzistan in 1836. If there is nothing material to add to this map, or if it contains no material error, we have now sufficient means for settling the questions in dispute.

Major Rawlinson in his "Notes on a march from Zohab to Khuzistan," (*London Geographical Journal*, Vol. IX. p. 26, &c.), does not admit the identity of Shuster and Susa. He considers the present town of Shuster as a Sassanian foundation, and that Sus represents the Susa of the Greek historians and geographers. But he supposes the Shushan of the Scriptures to be a different place from Susa, and he fixes it at a place called Susan, on the Kuran, considerably higher up the stream than Shuster. His arguments in favour of Shushan and Susa being two different places, are stated in his "Notes," (p. 85), but in my opinion they are not entitled to the slightest weight. He considers his opinion supported by the fact, that there are at Susan "the ruins of a great city, and from the accounts which he has received of it, it cannot be other than a sister-capital of Ecbatana and Persepolis." He also heard of the remains of a noble bridge which connects this city on the right bank of the river with a large mass of ruins on the left bank. In the year 1840 Mr. Layard visited Susan, which Major Rawlinson had not been able to reach. Mr. Layard's remarks are contained in the twelfth volume of the *Royal Geographical Journal*. He says, "At Susan there are scarcely any remains which could indicate the site of a large city; and those ruins which do actually exist are all confined to the northern (right) bank of the river. I do not doubt, however, that a large city did once exist here; but there are no mounds of any size, or columns, or even hewn stones and bricks." He also adds, "That the tomb of Daniel is neither of white marble, nor are there any sacred fish; it is a comparatively modern building, of rough stones, containing two apartments. It is regarded with great veneration, and is always known by the name of Gebr Daniel Akbar, or the Greater Daniel, in contradistinction to the one at Shus." Major Rawlinson had heard that the tomb was composed of massive blocks of white marble, and he had also heard of the sacred fish. Mr. Layard saw the remains of the bridge of which Major Rawlinson had heard. But the discrepancy between Major Rawlinson's informa-

tion and Mr Layard's direct testimony is not important. If Major Rawlinson's information had turned out to be in all respects correct, I should not consider that his argument as to Susa being the Shushan of the Scriptures was strengthened by it; for before looking for a new site for Shushan, it should be shewn that there are sufficient grounds for distinguishing it from the Susa of the Greeks; but there are not. The hypothesis of Major Rawlinson would not require any further notice, if he had not connected it with another on the Eulæus. His system of the rivers of Susiana is this. The Kerkhah near which Sus stands is the Choaspes, the river of Dizful, or, as some geographers call it, the Abi-zal, which joins the Kuran, is the Coprates, the upper part of the Kuran is the Eulæus, and the Kuran, below the juncture of the Dizful river with it, is the Pasitigris. Now the common opinion has been, that the Eulæus and the Choaspes are the same stream; an opinion which, Major Rawlinson observes, is "in defiance of the direct statement of Strabo (p. 728, ed. Casaub.) and Pliny (VI. 27), and the scarcely less direct inference of the voyage of Nearchus and Alexander." It is true that Strabo, when quoting Polyclitus, speaks of the Choaspes, Eulæus, and Tigris, as three distinct streams, and he also places Susa on the Choaspes. It may also be admitted that Pliny does mention the Choaspes and Eulæus separately, and he places Susa on the Eulæus; but Strabo's account of the geography of Susiana is confused, and Pliny's is much worse. It may be worth while observing, that the waters of the Kerkhah (Choaspes) and those of the Kuran are both noted for their excellence, as Major Rawlinson observes; and he thinks that this circumstance may have contributed to the confusion of the two streams. There was a story, (Herodotus I. 188), that the kings of Persia on their expeditions always carried with them in silver vessels the water of the Choaspes which flows by Susa; and they drank no other water. Accordingly, it was supposed that if it could be ascertained which of the rivers of Susiana possessed these excellent properties, that fact would identify the Choaspes either with the Kerkhah or the Kuran.

But it now appears that the water of both rivers is equally good, as I formerly ventured to conjecture, (*Geograph. Journal*, III. 267). This is just worth notice, because Von Hammer relies on the fact of the excellent qualities of the water of the Kuran as an argument in favour of that river being the Choaspes, and of Shuster being on the site of Susa.

In my remarks on Mr. Layard's paper in the *Geographical Journal*, I have proposed a solution of the difficulties about the Choaspes and Eulæus, which admits the distinction of these two rivers, but does not admit the identity of the Eulæus with the upper branch of the Kuran. My hypothesis is consistent with all that is said of those rivers by the Greek historians and geographers, and it is therefore true till it can be disproved by some stronger evidence. I should premise that I place no reliance either on Pliny or Ptolemy in this matter; and I do not admit that either of them can be used for settling the question. Major Rawlinson has used both these authorities, but with what success I leave any person to judge who will take the trouble of comparing the originals with his deductions from them.

The site of Sus is this, according to Major Rawlinson, who visited and examined it. The chief feature at Sus is a large mound, which measures 1100 yards round the base, and is about 165 feet high; this mound forms "the north-western extremity of a large platform of mounds, which appear to have constituted the fort of the city, while the great tumulus represents the site of the lower citadel." The Kerkhah is one mile and a half west of the mound of Sus, and accordingly the citadel or palace was not on the Choaspes, but above a mile east of it. But Major Rawlinson notices another stream at Sus, which, so far as I know, has not been described before, though it may have been. Immediately below the great mound, and on the west side of it, flows the river Shapur, or Shawer, as it is generally called. The Shapur "rises about ten miles north of Sus: it flows in a deep narrow bed by the tomb of Daniel, and laves the western face of the great mound." The water of the Shapur is considered by the Persians to be very bad, and in this respect bears "a striking contrast to the Kerkhah, which flows at some distance to the west, and is believed to be little inferior to the Kuran in the lightness and excellence of its water." Major Rawlinson could discover no trace of building in the interval between the Kerkhah and the Shapur. The Shapur is represented in the map which accompanies Major Rawlinson's Memoir as joining the Kuran a little below Hawaz, and Major Rawlinson observes that "the Abi-Shapur is certainly not only navigable from Sus to the point of its juncture with the Kuran, but from the facility which its deep and narrow bed, nearly level with the surface of the plain, affords for draught, is particularly suited to navigation." This river Shapur I assume to be the Eulæus of the Greek geographers and historians.

A difficulty may arise from the fact of there being no ruins between the Kerkhah and the Shapur, but this difficulty affects the site of Susa itself. The space between the Kerkhah and the Shapur is one mile and a half, and immediately on the east side of the Shapur is the great mound. Now if we suppose the city to have been situated between the large river Kerkhah and the smaller river Shapur, and to have been further protected by the great citadel on the east side of the Shapur, we have the position of Susa strongly defended. The absence of ruins in the space between the river is a difficulty, and those who do not admit that Susa corresponds to Sus may make the most of it. But I do not think that the absence of remains on the site of an ancient city, probably built chiefly of brick, is a great difficulty. At any rate it becomes a very small one, when we consider the fact of the proximity of the Kerkhah (which I assume to be the Choaspes) to the Shapur, which I assume to be the Eulæus. Two rivers so near would certainly be sometimes confounded; and it is nothing surprising, even if Susa was altogether on the east side of the Shapur, that its site should be referred to the larger of the two rivers, particularly when Susa was considered with reference to its position as a city in the interior of Susiana. And it is equally easy to explain how the Eulæus and Pasitigris were sometimes confounded. The Kuran is the Pasitigris, which is joined first by the river of Dizful, the Coprates, and lower down by the Shapur, the Eulæus. Now there is nothing strange in the names of Eulæus and Pasitigris being given indifferently to the Pasitigris below its junction with the Eulæus. Strabo says, that "sailing up the Pasitigris (Kuran) one hundred and fifty stadia, you come to the bridge of boats leading to Susa from Persis, and distant from Susa sixty stadia[1]." Arrian (V. II. 7), says that Alexander's navy sailed up from the gulf into the territory of Susa (*ἐς τὴν Σουσίαν γῆν*): Alexander embarked and sailed down the Eulæus (the Kuran): he then sailed from the mouth of the Eulæus (that is the Kuran, which Strabo has just called the Pasitigris), along the Gulf coast to the mouth of the Tigris (Shat-el Arab): the rest of the ships having ascended by the Eulæus as far as the artificial cut (*ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυγα*) which connected the Eulæus and the Tigris, passed by it into the Tigris. This artificial cut is the modern Hafar. If this description is compared with a good map, it will be found to be perfectly correct.

I conclude then that Susa, or its citadel, was on the east bank

[1] The numbers are corrupt.

of the Shapur, and that the Shapur is the Eulæus; that the Kerkhah is the Choaspes; and that the chief part of Susa was between the Kerkhah and the Shapur; or that if Susa was altogether on the east bank of the Shapur, its site was sometimes erroneously referred to the larger instead of the smaller of the two contiguous streams. The Abi-zal is universally admitted to be the Coprates, of which there can be no doubt. The Kuran, or river of Shuster, is the Pasitigris, which in the lower part of its course was sometimes called Eulæus, from the name of the river which flowed into it, and on which was situated the ancient capital of Susiana[1].

GEORGE LONG.

V.

THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES.

Des SOPHOKLES ANTIGONE, Griechisch und Deutsch, herausgegeben von AUGUST. BÖCKH. Berlin 1843.

The ANTIGONE of SOPHOCLES, with Notes critical and explanatory. By T. MITCHELL, A.M. Oxford 1842.

THE above two books have been put together rather by way of contrast than parallel. A comparison of them will shew very forcibly the state of Greek literature in England and Germany respectively, and the result will not be very flattering to our own country. In appreciating Mr. Mitchell's labours, it is only fair to keep this circumstance in view. He, doubtless, well considered the audience he was addressing, and his title-page informs us, that his edition is adapted to the use of schools and universities. Out of that pale the number of readers in England who sit down to a Greek tragedy by way of recreation, is, it is to be feared, in comparison with those of Germany, but small indeed. It may be questioned, however, whether even Mr. Mitchell's limited plan might not have been carried out in a less jejune and elementary manner. The Antigone is not a play to be put into the hands of the mere tiro. It abounds with difficult constructions, and its text occasionally offers corruptions and various readings which might well exercise the sagacity and critical *acumen* of the mature scholar.

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[1] The Baron de Bode, in a paper which has appeared in the *London Geographical Journal*, (Vol. XIII.), since I wrote this, has endeavoured to show that the city of the Uxii, mentioned by Arrian (*Anabasis* III. 17), and Quintus Curtius (V. 3) is the modern Mal Amir; and if this is well established, it is, as the Baron correctly observes, a collateral proof that the Pasitigris is the Kuran or river of Shuster.

The reader who attempts it should at least possess considerable mastery over the Greek language, and by such a reader something more is required than the mere smoothing of grammatical difficulties. Yet, besides his notes, Mr. Mitchell's edition contains only a preface of something less than a page. One half of this is employed in correcting a mistake supposed to have been committed by Sir E. L. Bulwer in his *Athens*, by which, it is said, he makes the Antigone to have been written as a sequel to the Œdipus Coloneus. The mistake, however, is Mr. Mitchell's own; for, had he read *the whole* of Bulwer's chapter, he would have found *two* passages (at pages 523 and 540) where the Antigone is expressly said to have been written first. Sir Edward's notion is, that the two Œdipuses were *written up* to the catastrophe of the Antigone, so as to form a whole of which the end had been first executed; an idea which seems to have occurred to Mr. Mitchell himself as a possible one. The prior portion of this scanty preface will, it may be feared, be regarded by the majority of students as but little calculated to excite a wish that it had been longer. "Into the *politics* of this drama," says Mr. Mitchell, "it is not at present intended to enter, and yet to those living under a mixed constitution like our own, where encroachments by the crown may by possibility call for resistance, as well as encroachments of the people, few portions of antiquity deserve a more *serious* consideration than the present play." Luke-warm politicians might think that a discourse upon the Prophecies, on the occasion of the predictions of Tiresias, would be just as much to the purpose. Before Mr. Mitchell executes the design here hinted at, it is to be hoped that he will take time to consider whether he had not better employ himself in viewing the play as a work of art, rather than in making it a text-book for political discussion. Let us at least have one sacred spot to which we may retire from the heats and animosities of newspaper strife. Nothing, too, can be more opposed to a right view of ancient art than such a course. The Germans understand this much better. They endeavour to elevate themselves to the same point of view which the Greeks themselves took; we, on the contrary, too frequently strive to bring down Grecian art to our own level. Which is the right method needs no discussion. But then the one requires considerable industry, and a comprehensive view of ancient art and manners, whilst the other may be discharged perfunctorily and *stans pede in uno*.

Even Mr. Mitchell's notes shew how much we are indebted to the Germans. They consist almost entirely of selections from

German critics, and in many instances he has given the German without any translation, which to some of his tirones must be more difficult than the Greek. He will, perhaps, permit the suggestion that, in his second edition, he may possibly see cause to alter one or two of his annotations. At v. 289 we find the expression καὶ πάλαι objected to as applied to an edict but a few hours old. Yet it is frequently so used, and the very same word had occurred only ten lines before respecting a still more recent act, viz. the thoughts of the chorus on the story of the watchman, which seems to have escaped Mr. Mitchell's attention. At v. 404 (ὃν σὺ τὸν νέκρον) where the point of syntax turns on the use of the article after the relative (a construction, though rare, yet not without example even in prose-writers), Mr. Mitchell refers to Electra 160—3, and Philoctetes 1327—8, which are not instances quite in point. At v. 668 (καὶ τοῦτον ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.) Mr. Mitchell passes over the difficulty in the want of a subject for the demonstrative τοῦτον *sicco pede*, although he has been at the pains of explaining many easier passages. Erfurdt had pointed out the difficulty of these lines, and also hinted at a method of extracting a subject from τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν, and thus admitting the scholiast's interpretation—τὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ πειθόμενον—and which seems to be the one adopted by Mr. Mitchell. Erfurdt's opinion of it, however, is shewn by the way in which he dismisses it; whoever adopts it, says he, *eum judicio suo quominus fruatur non impedio*, and then agrees with Seidler that the passage must be restored by transposition. Prof. Böckh also shews the impossibility of this method[1], though his own way of getting over the difficulty is not very clear or satisfactory. It is, however, a recommendation to Mr. Mitchell's edition that he has in this play kept his notes within a moderate compass, and thus avoided the besetting sin of English annotation; although the directions which he has occasionally inserted with respect to the *stage-play*, might, perhaps, be retrenched without detriment to the work[2].

After all, however, as it has been already hinted, much must depend on the public to which such works are addressed. A translation of the Antigone was last year performed with applause at Berlin, under the patronage of the King of Prussia, and the experi-

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[1] "Bedeutender ist die andere Schwierigkeit, wie nun folgen könne: καὶ τοῦτον ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα θαρσοίην ἐγώ, u. s. w. da τοῦτον hier weder auf ὃν πόλις στήσειε bezogen, noch nach dem Scholiasten τὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ πειθόμενον seyn kann. P. 249.

[2] As for example, at v. 318.—"Creon speaks after a look of infinite astonishment at this 'most particular fellow.'"

ment has been successfully renewed this year (1843) with the Medea of Euripides. If Sophocles could be recalled from the dead, what a spectacle for him to behold his own ruined Athens, and one of his masterpieces performing on the banks of the Spree, amongst a people of whose very existence he was ignorant! One might fancy him exclaiming with his own Œdipus,

τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνη, τίνας
χώρους ἀφίγμεθ', ἢ τίνων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν;

It may be doubted whether an audience could be got together in London on such an occasion. But it is to be hoped that better days are beginning to dawn, and that we may at length find time, amidst the excitements of politics and commerce, for a return to those studies in which England once boasted such exalted names, and which are so well adapted for an elegant and intellectual recreation.

Professor Böckh's edition consists of the Greek text with a German translation on the opposite page, and two Dissertations: the first on the Antigone viewed as *a whole*, and consequently as a work of art; the second on some particular passages of the play. It is the first Dissertation that forms the most important and distinguishing feature of the book, and the following notice will therefore be chiefly confined to an examination of it. Professor Böckh's criticism is conducted on *æsthetic* principles, now so popular in Germany, and which are but little known in this country. To explain that method thoroughly in its application to every branch of art, and to inquire whether it be founded on true principles of criticism and philosophy, would demand a separate paper and an abler pen. The progress, however, which the doctrine has made on the continent, and the almost utter ignorance which prevails respecting it in this country, seem to indicate the necessity for such an inquiry. In the present instance it is not proposed to examine the theory abstractedly, but only its application to Greek poetry, and more particularly to Greek tragedy. If the critics who have thus used it should appear occasionally to have failed, that circumstance would afford no argument against the theory itself, as it may be said to have been applied by unskilful hands; but to the student of Greek poetry even such a limited inquiry may be useful. The æsthetic critics assume to come before us with the true and only key, not merely to the more recondite beauties of a poet, but even to the right understanding of his meaning. Philology itself must yield to the pretensions of this new doctrine. Previously then to examining

M. Böckh's application of it to the Antigone, it may be worth while to cast our eyes for a moment on the way in which it has been handled by two eminent German critics of the æsthetic school —Müller and Dissen.

It is necessary to premise that an essential principle of this school is, that every poem contains one fundamental idea, (*Grundidee* or *Grundgedanke*), which it is the object of the whole work to illustrate and carry out. Müller assigns an abstract, ethic idea of this sort to the Iliad itself[3], with its gross, material heroes, who devoured fat loins of roasted pork, and who considered their bodies *themselves*, and their souls as a mere shadowy vapour[4]. If this be the true notion of the Homeric poem, it gives a death-blow to the Wolfian hypothesis, since the development of such an idea necessarily supposes a preconceived unity of plan, and must be the work of *one* mind. Müller goes on to say, that in the age of Pindar the Grecian intellect had become much more accustomed to abstract thought, and that an ethic law or decree of fate is the one idea that animates all his compositions—a principle on which Dissen has illustrated the odes of the Bœotian lyrist. It is, however, difficult to conceive any intermediate state—any state of progress—in the use of such a method of composition. Consciously or unconsciously the poet must either have used it or not. It is not a method that admits of degrees—of partial adoption. Its whole essence lies in the *unity* of the idea. Where that is not strictly preserved the æsthetic view is gone. If used at all, then, in the Iliad, it was used as fully and completely as in the works of Pindar and the tragedians. If that was not the case—if the Iliad exhibits only a partial application of the doctrine—then we must admit that a poem may be composed without it; a result which also follows from the adoption of Wolf's theory. In that case the æsthetic notion of a *Grundgedanke* is irretrievably damaged; because it is either universally true, or universally false. This is more particularly the case with regard to Grecian art, since it is not even pretended that the Greeks adopted the method consciously. They were utterly unacquainted with it as an abstract principle, as, indeed, every

[3] Auch die Ilias wird durch eine ethische Idee zusammengehalten; nur ist es dem in der Anschauung lebenden Zeitalter völlig gemäss, dass grade diese nie in abstracter Form ausgesprochen wird; dagegen wird der Dichter durch sie, wie durch eine Norm, in der Auffassung und Empfindung der Dinge bestimmt." Eumen. p. 190.

[4] *ἀυτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν.* Ib. 1. 4.

—*ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς, ἠΰτε καπνὸς, ὤχετο τετριγυῖα.* Ib. 23. 100.

artist has been till about the end of the last century; and therefore, if the theory be true, it can be regarded only as an analysis of the ordinary and unconscious process of the intellect in producing imaginative works. It may be as well, however, briefly to shew that the Greeks *were* unacquainted with it. We naturally first turn to the great critic who has laid down such precise rules for the drama, and who, having analysed it so carefully and so acutely, could not possibly have been ignorant of the æsthetic theory, had it ever been adopted by the dramatic poets. Does Aristotle, then, drop the remotest hint of it? If anywhere, we might expect to find it mentioned in the directions which he gives for laying the foundations of a play; because the æsthetic idea would necessarily be a preliminary without which nothing could be done. There, however, he confines himself entirely to the fable. The poet is directed to consider first some *action* in the abstract—not some *principle* or *idea*. He then gives the Iphigenia as an example. The abstract action is as follows: a virgin was to have been sacrificed, but, vanishing from the sight of her immolators, has become a priestess in a country where it was customary to sacrifice strangers. Her brother arrives there, a recognition takes place, and he is saved from the fate that awaited him. The critic then proceeds to say, that, after making a sketch of the action, the poet must provide his characters with names, and lay out the different episodes[5]. Had the Stagirite been at all acquainted with *æsthetics*, he would not have proceeded in this manner. Instead of giving a fable, to be afterwards clothed with names and episodes, he would have laid down some moral or abstract idea to be developed in a fable*. But Aristotle is a witness whom the æsthetic critics very soon dismiss by a summary process[6]. There seems, indeed, to be no good reason for this, except that he is an inconvenient one; nor do they confront him with the testimony of any less precise philosopher.

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[5] Περὶ ποιητικῆς. § λ'. Tyrwhitt.

* Lord Bacon takes much the same view of the matter as Aristotle: "Nevertheless I do rather think that the fable was first and the exposition devised, than that the moral was first, and thereupon the fable framed. For I find that it was an ancient vanity in Chrysippus, that troubled himself with great contention to fasten the assertions of the Stoics upon fictions of the ancient poets; but yet that all the fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion." *Advancement of Learning*. Works, Vol. I. p. 51. London. 1765.

[6] "Unbekümmert um diejenigen welche tiefer liegende Gedanken und eine durchgreifende Ansicht in einem Kunstwerke der Hellenischen Tragiker nicht suchen wollen, weil Aristoteles darüber keine Auskunft giebt," u.s.w. Böckh, p. 169.

Had their notion of poetry occurred to a Grecian mind, it would surely have presented itself to the speculative one of Plato. Yet Plato looks upon poetry very much in the same light as Aristotle, and regards that σωφροσύνη which would necessarily have belonged to an æsthetic bard, as merely human, and not to be compared for a moment with the divine *æstus* of the inspired poet. In the Phædrus he attributes the origin of poetry to a species of madness, and tells us that he who would be a poet by rule and art will soon be cast into the shade by the inspired one[7]. He does not even suggest the additional excuse of a hidden moral for that austerer kind of poet whom he retains in his Republic, after anointing and dismissing with a fillet him whose too versatile imitations embrace alike the good and the bad. 'Imitation is still to be the method, but it is to be imitation of the good alone[8]. Yet Plato was evidently fond of poetry. He had himself attempted the drama; and in a passage of the tenth book of his *Republic* he expressly states—under the character of Socrates—that if the more pleasurable kind of imitative poetry could shew any just cause why it should be suffered to remain in a well-regulated state, he would gladly receive it, being conscious to himself how much he was delighted with it[9]. The æsthetic theory would have relieved his scruples at once.

We see, then, that the two acutest thinkers of Greece, and who both lived after the greatest masterpieces of Greek poetry had been produced, were wholly ignorant of æsthetics. It may be a fair presumption then, that the poets also were as utterly in the dark on the subject. The poetical mind is not fitted for analysis. This is the province of philosophers; and if they had not succeeded in detecting the æsthetic unity of idea in the works of the poets, we may rest assured that the poets themselves were wholly unconscious of it. This, it is true, is not an objection altogether fatal to the theory, because it may still be said, as it has been before remarked, that it is the ordinary and necessary, but unconscious process of the intellect in producing works of art. But in that view

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[7] "μανία—ἐκβακχεύουσα κατά τε ᾠδὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν, μυρία τῶν παλαιῶν ἔργα κοσμοῦσα, τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους παιδεύει· ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται, πεισθεὶς ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανῶς ποιητὴς ἐσόμενος, ἀτελὴς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων ἡ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος ἠφανίσθη." Phæd. 245 A.

[8] V. Rep. B. 3. 398 B.

[9] "ὅμως δὲ εἰρήσθω ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε, εἴ τινα ἔχοι λόγον εἰπεῖν ἡ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιητικὴ καὶ ἡ μίμησις ὡς χρὴ αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐν πόλει εὐνομουμένῃ ἄσμενοι ἂν καταδεχοίμεθα, ὡς σύνισμέν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κηλουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς." P. 607.

the theory is not altogether so striking and novel. Every critic who has written upon art since the birth of criticism has more or less required a unity of idea. Nay, every production of the human mind—unless it be of that insane and extravagant cast which Horace has described in the opening lines of his *Art of Poetry*—must necessarily possess a certain logical unity, of which, perhaps, even the wildest flights of the ode are not altogether divested. At this point the question seems to resolve itself into two parts; namely, whether we should, with the æsthetic critics, refer this unity to the development of some one fundamental idea, or whether we should regard it as springing from the subject, or action, of a poem. This inquiry, for the reasons before given, it is not here intended to pursue. The æsthetic theory may be true or false; but if the phænomena which it would explain may be solved in a more easy and obvious manner, we may at least be permitted to pause before we adopt a notion which seems to shackle and confine the flights of genius and imagination. Thus, for instance, when Müller tells us (p. 190), that the *Grundidee* of the Orestean trilogy is, how a rooted curse in a house is absolved by the saving might of the Godhead, we see at once that Æschylus could not have written the piece without such an idea running through it. It was inseparably bound up with his subject, and forms the whole groundwork of the traditionary tale of the House of Atreus.

Dissen seems to have carried the æsthetic principle of unity to its extreme length in the works of a poet who, to the uninitiated eye, appears the most untoward subject for its application. By ordinary critics the odes of Pindar have been looked upon as the outpourings of a wild and irregular genius, carried away by its own uncontrollable fire; he, on the contrary, would reduce them all to some abstract idea or ethical precept, to which even their boldest flights may be reduced, as to a rule or measure[10]. The myths or fables with which they abound, and which are also supposed to have their own proper unity, are but so many examples of the fundamental moral. To the latter the chief place seems to be assigned, and the fable to be considered as subordinate; at least so far as can be collected from Dissen's words, which are rather ambiguous; the *sententia* or ethic idea being called the *prima*

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[10] "Est igitur satis clarum opinor quales sint sententiæ epiniciis subjectæ. ınt omnes ethicæ ac simplices quidem nonnisi in paucis carminibus, ut ego censeo." Dissen, Introd. p. 23.

virtus, whilst the fable is said to be *altera non minor*[11]. The painful and laborious manner in which the fundamental idea of a poem is tracked by æsthetic critics is thus described by Dissen.

"First of all we read the separate passages one after the other; we examine the words, the construction, and the historical allusions, if there be any; and then joining all these together, we collect the general meaning. For as a passage cannot be understood, except by its separate words and subjects, so neither can you understand these unless the general meaning be grasped. Hence the more difficult passages cannot be accomplished, without frequently reverting from single words and things, to the general meaning, and *vice versa* from general to particular, till every thing being compared, you have one part as it were defined by another. Very often, however, even this cannot be completed till you have consulted what follows. You may have got on pretty well, yet every single passage depending on the rest, you frequently discover that some more extensive meaning is to be sought, and which is common to many connected passages. This being discovered and collected by a comparison of the several parts, you again return to them, and frequently find passages which must be construed in a different way from what you had adopted before you were master of the whole connexion; and now you are arrived so far that you may fancy you understand a part of the poem, a chapter of the book. You proceed in the same method of reading, adding part to part, chapter to chapter, till at length having read the whole, you feel that it is time to think about the main thought *(summa sententia)* in which all the parts of the oration, dialogue, or poem, are contained[12]."

All this puts one very much in mind of examining a picture of Raphael's or Titian's through a microscope. Yet this is represented to be the way by which we enter the very workshop of the poet, and behold the secrets of that divine art which produced so many masterpieces. According to Dissen, not a word could have been written before the poet had set up some trite, commonplace maxim to hammer at, and his work would have been infallibly ruined had he suffered himself to be led astray by the play

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[11] "In fabulis igitur ideale exemplum inest sententiæ carmini subjectæ; et quum prima virtus in ipsâ sententia carminis sit, altera non minor in fabulis est quibus ea declaratur." Ibid. p. 26.

[12] Dissen, Vol. 1. p. 33.

of fancy or the association of ideas[13]. Had this been so, the invocation of the Muse would have been a work of supererogation, and industry might have supplied the place of genius.

It does not follow, however, that the æsthetic theory is wrong because it may have been misapplied. We are here only examining its application by certain critics to Greek poetry, and we tremble for the student, when we reflect with what a mass of comment it may one day encumber classical literature. It professes alone to hold the true key which is to disclose as many wonders as the golden bough of the Sibyl. But like that, alas! it is very difficult of attainment, and like that, too, *uno avulso non deficit alter;* for there may be as many keys to the '*Grundgedanke*' as there are critics. In such a case who shall decide amongst their different pretensions? In the philological school there is at least a court of appeal, and the ambitious commentator may be silenced and refuted by the unerring voice of custom and authority. But here each man carries the law in his own breast; and it requires but a little ingenuity and perseverance to give an air of plausibility to a theory of the 'Grundgedanke' the most remote from common apprehension and from truth; as will probably be seen in M. Böckh's interpretation of that of the Antigone, to which it is now time to turn.

After giving in his eleventh section a brief summary of the action, as well as adverting to some of the more prominent sentiments of the play, M. Böckh finds himself in a situation to discover that *oneness*, or unity of idea, which is to throw light upon all the separate parts. The two following sections are employed in considering the conclusions of Schlegel, Solger, and Jacob, respecting the poet's aim, not one of which is approved; and the fourteenth is occupied in shewing that the 'Grundidee' cannot be referred to fate, or destiny. The ground having been thus cleared, M. Böckh proceeds to explain his own conception of the true æsthetic point of view. In arriving at it great weight is attributed to the expressions of the chorus, as being the organ and mouth-piece of the poet. The true model of dramatic art, the work of a poet distinguished by the deepest reflection, will exhibit *one* idea in *one* action, into how many parts soever the latter may be broken, or

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[13] "Profecto non per associationem idearum quæ dicitur existere potest classicum opus, ut sunt qui opinari videntur; sed, invento demum themate et fundamento, elocutio locum habet; nec dubium Pindarum, antequam illud invenisset ne verbum quidem scribere potuisse." &c. Dissen, Vol. I. p. 90.

whatsoever number of subordinate and accessory thoughts the former may contain. Yet in the Antigone we find, apparently, two actions; and, as Jacob remarks, the character of Antigone might be retrenched, and there would remain the tragedy of Creon. There is the purpose and act of the former, with their consequences, to which stand opposed the purpose and act of the latter. Schlegel, however, has truly shewn, that without this contest of opposite designs, there can be no complication or *nœud.* According to him the difficulty in the present play lies in determining which is the *principal* action. This Böckh solves by holding that it is the very contest which springs from these opposite purposes which forms the unity of the action, and in which lies the outer life of the piece. This, however, contains but One Idea, which is worked out, though in a different manner, on each side of the action, and which is the following one: "That immoderate and passionate endeavours lead to destruction; man should carefully measure his rights lest, out of violent self-will, he overstep either divine or human laws, and suffer severely in expiation: prudence is the best of happiness[14]." Thus Antigone's act is an offence against human laws, Creon's against the divine; and the tragic interest of the piece is considered to arise from the circumstance that the actors, in pursuing a conviction in which they are inwardly justified, find themselves at variance with another precept.

Such, according to M. Böckh, is the true æsthetic view of the piece; and having thus established in what the unity of the idea consists, he proceeds to shew how it is applied and carried out in the different parts of the play. As this is done with much industry and considerable ingenuity, it will only be fair to give his argument in his own words. The following is a translation of his 16th, 17th, and 18th sections, which bring his remarks down to the final exit of Antigone.

"§ 16. Creon's prohibition to bury Polynices is, notwithstanding the latter's attack upon his country, harsh and tyrannical; and as an offence against the infernal Deities, irreligious. In hindering Antigone from performing her duty he encroaches upon her rights, as she says in the prologue; and he has thus arrogantly engaged himself against the Gods and the Dead. On the other hand, Antigone recognizes the inherent and natural duty of burying her brother; but, by overstepping the laws, she loosens the social bond,

[14] Erste Abhandlung, p. 160.

and in her determination to carry out her own will by force, she passes the boundaries prescribed to her sex, and to a subject. She should leave the burial of Polynices to the will of the Gods. Tiresias shews further on, that they also demand it; and it is at length completed only through their portents. It is not without cause that Sophocles represents her also as arrogant. Even in the prologue Ismene points out that they must, as women and subjects, yield to force, and can only implore the dead for forgiveness; that it is a folly to undertake what exceeds the bounds of moderation, (*περισσὰ* v. 68[15]) and to act against the commands of the sovereign. Hither also are to be referred v. 42 *ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἶ*, and v. 98 *ἄνους μὲν ἔρχει, τοῖς φίλοις δ' ὀρθῶς φίλη*. True, it may be said that no importance is to be attached to such expressions; that Chrysothemis also reproaches Electra with want of understanding, dissuades her from undertaking what is impossible, and warns her, as a woman and a subject, to yield to those who are more powerful[16]. But in the Electra these speeches belong less to the moral of the action, because there no struggle between opposite duties is represented, as in the Antigone; and because Chrysothemis, though much more in favour with their mother, is still more inclined to the action of Electra, since she so far yields to her as to neglect the offering to the dead which she has been intrusted with. Even if we concede that Ismene is to be the contrast of Antigone, as Chrysothemis is of Electra, in order that the force of character of the other may come out more strongly; yet still Ismene at once points out to her sister the ground which, as a woman, she should wisely choose. Ismene does not on this account overlook what is noble and amiable in Antigone. The latter, on the other hand, overvaluing herself without concealment, harshly repulses her gentle and affectionate sister, boasts proudly of the nobleness of her deed, by which she is to win an honourable death, and will not concede to her the least participation in it after her first refusal: she must leave her and her folly (*δυσβουλία* v. 95) to themselves. I am far from wishing to detract from the noble soul of Antigone. I only assert that she opposes the arrogant Creon because she is herself presumptuous by her passionate hostility, and so bears in herself those seeds of destruction, to which all mortal imperfection is doomed as the expiation of unrighteousness. It is my duty to track the secret

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[15] The number of the verses (in the translation) is taken from Böckh's edition.
[16] Electra, 386 seqq. 980 seqq.

path of the poet. His intention was to represent Antigone as great and noble, not common and mean. At the same time, however, she was to appear incapable of moderation, a quality which he considers of the highest importance; since in the 'Ajax' likewise he has exposed the hero who oversteps moderation, and bids adieu to prudence (σωφροσύνη) to the anger of Athena, who is represented as giving the preference to Odysseus—'because the Gods love the wise'—(τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας θεοὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ στυγοῦσι τοὺς κακούς, Ajax 132). Thus who would say that Creon is represented as a wicked tyrant? As Antigone has a womanly and pious motive, so Creon has a manly and austere one, such as befits the statesman. He does not even believe that he injures the Gods (278 seqq.), but rather accuses Polynices of it (196); he could conduct himself well if zeal for his country and for his own honour did not induce a degree of passion which leads him to irreverence for religion and to tyranny. Thus the poet shews in noble and excellent natures how obstinate pride and a want of prudence destroy both in their mutual struggle. As the observations of the chorus in this piece often give a previous decision respecting the subsequent action, so they remark even in the Parodos (125), with respect to the Argives, 'that Zeus hates the boasting of a presumptuous tongue;' an expression which cannot be deficient in meaning as regards the main action, inasmuch as in the conclusion the 'overbearing words of the proud' are mentioned in 'relation to the consequences of this action.'

"§ 17. The whole piece exhibits the contest between these two powers, announced in the prologue, worked up to the highest degree of obstinacy, whilst what is genuine and true in the sentiments of the actors developes itself *pari passu* with what is obdurate, violent, and presumptuous. Afterwards the last of these manifests itself in Creon, whose severity the chorus does not approve, but in yielding to it shews true moderation. When afterwards the chorus, upon mention being made of Polynices' burial, ascribes it to a divine cause, a tyrannical disposition and bold self-confidence against pious exhortation display themselves in the anger of Creon. The next choral song, which portrays the violence of human nature—how in its struggles it overcomes everything, and whilst procuring for itself the life of reason and of civil society, yet still, in its passion, tramples upon divine and human right, throws a double light upon the action of Creon and Antigone. But when Antigone is brought in a prisoner, the chorus immediately express their fears that she has been taken in a 'foolish

action' (ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ, 370); and when she accuses Creon of folly (456), because her deed may perhaps appear foolish to him, one may regard this almost literally as the poet's conviction, since both act from passion. She appears magnanimous when at once avowing her deed, she defends it by the divine law, and nobly does she expose the king's arrogance, and shews that he, a mortal, cannot overthrow the unwritten laws of the Gods (440 seqq.); and when she proceeds to say that life is valueless to her, this is an alleviation of her fate which her noble heart deserves. But instead of proceeding with gentle resignation and submission, she challenges the king. She has not only committed the offence, but laughs after the deed, and irritates the sovereign by her proud boasting. The chorus, quiet old men in the possession of true discretion, here also manifest the poet's decision (458):

δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὠμὸν ἐξ ὠμοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς παιδός· εἴκειν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

Creon points out to her her offence against the laws and her haughtiness (467 seqq.); but the hardest iron breaks the oftenest, and the most obstinate are the first to fall. He grows arrogant, and says he shall no longer have any pretensions to the manly character, if this presumption go unpunished. But she boasts afresh of her noble deed (486 seqq.), and reproaches the king with tyranny; who, on his side, repeats his conviction, and exposes her fault without acknowledging his own. Passing over much more of the same kind, I will only produce a remarkable example of the obstinacy of both, where Antigone reproaches Creon 'that all saw the justice of her cause, and were silent only from fear;' whilst he retorts by asking 'whether she does not blush to be of a different opinion from the rest of her fellow-citizens?' (σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐπαιδεῖ, τῶνδε χωρὶς εἰ φρονεῖς; 497).

"§ 18. The obstinacy and passion of both display themselves likewise towards Ismene, whom Creon, although she is guiltless, would doom to similar destruction; whilst Antigone repulses her more harshly than before, and desires that as she was no partaker in her deed, so neither shall she share in her death[17]. It is a

[17] "Ismene is so little esteemed by Antigone at the moment when the latter is led to execution, that she regards herself as 'the only one of the royal house that still remains' (905). Brunck has already remarked this, and his observation thereupon is perfectly true, that he who is overpowered by some great sorrow thinks only of himself. Both these views probably occurred to Sophocles when in the above passage he makes Antigone unmindful of her sister."

wrong conception of the character of Ismene herself to believe that she repents her weakness. She maintains her amiable disposition, and is led to attribute blame to herself only, that she may not live without her sister: misfortune has now deprived even her also of understanding.

ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ, ἄναξ, οὐδ' ὃς ἂν βλάστῃ μένει
νοῦς τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται. (550)

Whilst she speaks this of herself she also discovers by anticipation the fate of Creon. If one examines what follows the same 'Grundgedanke' (or fundamental idea) will be found constantly maintained. With passionate arrogance, but in order to bring back the women within their proper bounds (565), Creon is resolved to put Antigone to death without even sparing the love of his son; yet still a love of justice is mingled with his harshness. 'He who would rule the state must first be able to rule his own house'—to which even Antigone belongs. She, it is true, dies according to the dark progress of the fate of the Labdacidæ; but is it not the decision of the chorus '*that it is the folly of her own counsel and the Fury of the Soul*' that leads her to destruction? *No mortal can overcome by violence the power of the Gods. Man, misled by passionate hopes, lays hold on evil instead of good, and the divine power, maintaining the right, punishes him.* This thought of the chorus admits of application on both sides, as it refers retrospectively to Antigone, and indicates prospectively the fall of Creon. Its summary, however, is just this: that passion disorders the mind of man and produces destruction; and Creon himself finally applies it to his own case (1214 seqq.). In order at once to anticipate all that belongs to a decision upon the maiden's deed, it may be said that the poet is very far indeed from honouring her unconditionally. The magnanimity and stedfastness of her purpose and her piety are indeed justly displayed, but indications of disapproval are not wanting. Although we at once allow her complaints for the loss of the joys of love and the happiness of marriage, and for her living death in the sepulchral chamber, to be purely human and natural, and see therein that Antigone is not altogether insensible; and though we also concede that the genuineness of her resolve is maintained by the circumstance of her finding the bitter cup of death to be really bitter; yet nevertheless headstrong passion is mingled with her death, when in despair she puts an end to her life by means of her girdle. Let it not be objected that this is necessary in order that no retreat

may be left to Creon and Hæmon. I see perfectly well that passion was necessary in order that the tragedy might be what it is, which must have earlier taken a different turn, had Creon and Antigone been gentler than they are. But what is necessary for the management of the piece must lie in the character of the actors, if the piece is to be well managed; and thus her death can only be explained by passionate despair, which is also expressed in her songs. She still remains, it is true, in her old conviction; yet she acknowledges (871) that she has violated the laws of the state, and doubting of her own conduct, leaves it to the Gods to judge her. Precisely as she is arrived at this point, the poet puts a sentiment into her mouth which can be explained from my view alone. She defends her action by stating that he whom she has buried is her *brother:* had it been her husband or child she would not have done it, since she might have another husband and another child; but, her father and mother being dead, she can possess no other brother. Jacob observes, not altogether unjustly, that this passage (to which I shall return in the second part) enhances the greatness of her action. The poet, however, did not intend to ascribe an unconditional greatness to it; and makes her, whilst bordering on an acknowledgment of her injustice, seek after such topics of support as the sophistry of despair offers; though Creon, perfectly in keeping with his situation, acknowledges his folly more sharply. In perfect harmony with this delineation of Antigone is also the judgment of the chorus. They pay the tribute of their tears to the maiden's great-souled deed—that pious crime, as they term it; yet they express that their commiseration '*leads them beyond the bounds of justice,*' (770); they conceal not her audacity when she compares herself with the demi-gods (803 *seqq.*), but proceed even to the harshness of ridicule; and, lastly, set her crime clearly before her in the following verses (821. 839):

προβᾶσ' ἐπ' ἔσχατον θράσους
ὑψηλὸν ἐς Δίκας βάθρον
προσέπεσες, ὦ τέκνον, πολύ.

and

σέβειν μὲν εὐσεβεία τις
κράτος δ' ὅτῳ κράτος μελει
παραβατὸν οὐδαμῇ πέλει.
σὲ δ' αὐτόγνωτος ὦλεσ' ὀργά—

And not without blame do they bring forward her obstinacy (893):

ἔτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνέμων αὐταὶ
ψυχῆς ῥιπαὶ τήνδε γ' ἔχουσιν—

The choral song at v. 908 seqq. in which Danae, Lycurgus, the Phineidæ are compared merely on account of the similarity of their fate—their habitation in the grave—ascribes to destiny only a general share in the sufferings of Antigone; and omits not to advert to the want of wisdom, which at least overthrew Lycurgus, whom Creon in some respect very much resembles."

It is needless to follow Professor Böckh's commentary any further, as the remaining portion of it is chiefly occupied in shewing how the passion and self-will of Creon are displayed—qualities which may be at once conceded to distinguish that tyrant. It may however be observed that he pushes his theory so far as to make even Hæmon himself perish by his passion and want of moderation—Hæmon, who had been before represented as remonstrating so wisely and so calmly with his father! Eurydice alone is said to die perfectly free from blame (rein schuldlos) a victim of Creon's folly. If this be so, the fact may perhaps be accounted for by the circumstance that she has only nine lines assigned to her—space hardly sufficient to display her folly or passion. But if we reflect that she falls by her own hand in the same manner as Antigone or Hæmon, though with hardly so much cause, it is difficult to see why one at least of those qualities should not also be attributed to her.

With respect to the general view of the plot, M. Böckh's opinion of its unity seems preferable to that of Schlegel or Jacob, who look upon it as consisting of two separate actions. This arose from their regarding the *actors* rather than the *action*. Yet it may perhaps be doubted whether ancient art attributed so much importance to a hero or heroine as that of modern days. In Aristotle's view the action is every thing, and the characters quite a subordinate consideration; although in every simple and entire action, such as those generally chosen for Greek tragedy, and in which so few actors were employed, there must necessarily be some one person who plays a more prominent part than the rest. If then we regard the Antigone, not as turning exclusively on the developement of the heroine's character, but rather on the unfolding of that single action of the burial, and its consequences to both parties, its unity becomes much more apparent. It is not then necessary to attribute this unity to the *oneness* of the 'Grundgedanke.' And even if we regard the actors rather than the plot, we shall find that the interest in Antigone does not cease with her final exit from the scene. The hopes of the spectators that she

may still be spared are awakened by Creon's speech, v. 1108 seqq. and it is not till v. 1221—not much more than a hundred lines from the end of the play—that we are finally certified of her fate. Indeed, the sudden change of mind in Creon after the scene with Tiresias seems to have been introduced solely for the purpose of keeping alive the expectations of the audience. As a trait of character it is not at all in keeping with Creon's obstinate and irreligious disposition.

The strongest part of M. Böckh's theory lies in his application of the expressions of the chorus. In ordinary cases these must be allowed to be the best exponents of the poet's own sentiments, and of the feelings which he is desirous of awakening in his audience. But in the present play the conduct of the chorus seems almost inexplicable, such is their base submission towards Creon and their frequently gratuitous harshness towards Antigone. Schlegel has explained it on two grounds: the necessity that Antigone should stand alone and without support, in order that the dignity of her character may be fully developed; and also that the submissiveness of the chorus may convey an impression of the irresistible nature of Creon's commands, and thus enhance the magnanimity of her resistance. This is ingenious, but it is opposed to M. Böckh's view; who, so far from finding any fault with the chorus, regards them as models of moderation and wisdom. It may be as well therefore to point out a few instances of their absurdity and grovelling nature.

At v. 213 we have an example of the most abject submission:

> νόμῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι πάντι πού γ' ἔνεστι σοι
> καὶ τῶν θανόντων χὠπόσοι ζῶμεν πέρι—

After the noble and beautiful speech of Antigone, beginning at v. 450, in which she places in so strong a light the superiority of divine over human laws, the chorus, instead of being touched by the appeal, and remonstrating with Creon, coldly observe that she betrays the sternness of her race, and knows not how to yield to misfortune. Creon had told them plainly enough (v. 280 seqq.) that he considered them to be little better than superannuated dotards, and at v. 681 they themselves pretty strongly confirm his opinion; where, after expressing a suspicion of their own imbecility, they first approve of Creon's speech, and shortly afterwards (v. 724) the directly opposite one of Hæmon; reminding one most forcibly of that silly old courtier Polonius. When at their own hint that she is not the first who had died in this manner, the great spirit

of Antigone takes fire and adverts naturally enough to the fate of Niobe, they answer with a cold-hearted sneer at the pride shewn by the comparison, which cuts her to the heart, (*οἴμοι γελῶμαι, κ.τ.λ.* v. 838). At v. 853 they follow up their unmanly blow, and tell her that she has gone to the very extremity of daring, because, forsooth, she has resisted the tyrant's commands. Their servile minds are unable to comprehend the nobleness of her deed. At v. 873 their abominable servility is still more apparent, and they openly set obedience to a tyrant before the divine law:

σέβειν μὲν εὐσεβεία τις,
κράτος δ' ὅτῳ κράτος μελεί
παραβατόν οὐδαμῇ πέλει.

At v. 929 they complain to Creon that Antigone is still bewailing her fate, who thereupon threatens the guards with punishment for not hurrying her away. On the other hand, when they find (v. 1091 seqq.) that Creon's act is likely to be of evil consequence *to himself*, they advise him to release Antigone with all possible speed. The only place where they manifest any feelings of human nature is at v. 801 seqq. where they shed a few weak tears for Antigone's fate, but which are immediately deprecated as exceeding that wretched standard of law and right which they have set up for themselves. In short, if the feelings of the chorus would serve to point out the hero of the piece, we must award the first part to Creon, with whom they sympathize throughout.

Such is the miserable chorus which Böckh describes as the mouthpiece of the poet, and the pattern of wisdom and moderation. It may be suspected, however, that Sophocles took a very different view of them, and that it was his intention, as Potter suggests, to hold up the senate of Thebes to the contempt and ridicule of his countrymen. The Antigone was represented but a very few years after the unfortunate expedition under Tolmides, whilst the national vanity must have been still smarting under the consequences of that overthrow, and to which this display of Theban slavishness and imbecility would have served as an anodyne. If there be any truth in the very problematical story that the Samian command was bestowed upon Sophocles as a reward for this play, it seems more consistent with the Athenian character to ascribe their generosity to the delight they experienced in a species of vengeance so much to their taste, than, with Böckh, to any admiration they might feel for the political precepts delivered by Creon. According to him it was by the two declamatory speeches of the t[illegible] (v. 162 seqq. and 639 seqq.) in which he enlarges upon t[illegible]

procal duties of sovereign and subject, rather than by the poetical merits of the play, that the dramatist won the hearts of the Athenians, and shewed himself worthy to be intrusted with command (§ 2, p. 191). The very next sentence, however, tells us that he understood his audience too well not to soften down Creon's unlimited demands of submission. The speech of Hæmon is considered as a make-weight thrown into the democratic scale; and the line in which, unconvinced by his father's arguments in favour of passive obedience, he declares that "the state which depends on one man is no longer a state," (πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἥτις ἄνδρος ἐσθ' ἑνός) is described as calculated to elicit an unextinguishable 'Bravo.' Which of these two contradictory views are we to adopt? M. Böckh cannot be allowed to appropriate both; for, though the Athenians were sufficiently fickle and capricious, they were hardly such perfect weathercocks as to approve of tyranny and democracy in the same breath. The son's arguments were much more likely to find favour in their sight than the father's. For his dramatic ridicule of the Bœotians Sophocles had a precedent in the Persæ of Æschylus. There, as in the Antigone, the chorus consists of the senate or collective wisdom of the state, and the pride of a nation could not have been wounded in a tenderer point[18].

Many other parts of M. Böckh's theory partake of that desire of proving *too much*—of having at least a multitude of arguments, whatever may be their consistency—which frequently characterizes his reasoning. Thus he is not content with taking the sentiments of the chorus after the action is begun, and they are acquainted with the conduct of Antigone, but even presses into the service the general reflections which they utter respecting the Argive leaders in the Parodos. Nor is he satisfied with the chorus as exponents of the poet's mind, but makes even the *dramatis personæ* serve the same purpose. Thus when Antigone reproaches Creon with folly, she is regarded as expressing the conviction of the poet himself[19]. In like manner we may presume that Creon's reproaches of Anti-

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[18] On the chorus of the Persæ Dr. Blomfield remarks—"Valde enim ridicula est Xerxis persona cum lamentis suis et laceris pannis et vacuâ pharetrâ; sed longe magis ridiculum chori obsequium dum varios doloris exprimendi modos a Xerxe edoctus adhibet, v. 1039 sqq. Verum hoc a poeta consilio factum fuisse arbitror, ut Atheniensibus risum moveret." Pref. to Persæ, p. 14.

[19] "Und wenn sie den Creon der Thorheit zeiht (456) weil etwa ihr Thun ihm thöricht erscheine, kann man dies fast wörtlich als des Dichters Ueberzeugung ansehen." P. 164.

gone are to be taken, since, according to his hypothesis, they are both equally guilty. But this could hardly have been the poet's intention, for this simple reason, that it involves an inconsistency. Creon's guilt arises from his prohibition of the burial, by which he offends the divine laws. But if that prohibition was a wrong and guilty one, how could Antigone offend by violating it? In short, M. Böckh's argument seems reducible to this logical absurdity—Antigone committed a crime in burying Polynices, and Creon in forbidding the burial.

Sometimes the meaning of the text is strained in order to give a colour to the hypothesis. Thus at v. 68 πέρισσα is rendered by *übermässiges* (beyond the bounds of moderation), when it rather means 'supererogatory[20].' A great deal too much stress is laid on Antigone's declaration that she would not have undertaken the deed against the will of the state, for the sake of a husband or child; a point which is again adverted to in the second Dissertation. This, M. Böckh asserts, can be explained only from his own view of Antigone's character. But instead of shewing her violence and obstinacy, it rather shews the reverse. So sensible is she of the obligation of the laws, that she would not have violated them for a husband or child; but, as her brother cannot be replaced, her duty towards him becomes paramount to every other consideration, and thus her piety leads her into an offence unwillingly committed against the state (p. 260.) After all, however, this is merely, perhaps, a stroke of nature; for it should be recollected that Antigone has never experienced the feelings which belong to the married state, and she must not therefore be taken literally at her word.

The most objectionable part, however, of M. Böckh's theory is the view that it takes of the two principal characters. Creon is made too good, Antigone too bad. The former is represented too much as a patriotic statesman who has been betrayed into the act out of too warm a zeal for the good of his country (see § 16). The poet's conception of his character may be gathered from the following passages more securely than from the rhetorical and *ad captandum* speeches in which he addresses, and as the vulgar, but expressive phrase runs, 'humbugs,' the chorus. At v. 291 we see his arbitrary disposition:

—— οὐδ ὑπὸ ζυγῷ
λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ.

[20] The scholiast explains it by παρὰ δύναμιν.

At v. 666 his abominable doctrine of unconditional obedience in things *bad* as well as good:

ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν
καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια, καὶ τἀναντία.

At v. 774 his refinement in cruelty in burying Antigone alive when the penalty originally prescribed had been stoning, and which is made still worse by his hypocritical speech (887 seqq.) where he pretends to doubt whether it will have the effect of killing her.

εἴτε χρῆ θανεῖν
εἴτ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ζῶσα τυμβεύειν στέγῃ.
ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἁγνοὶ τοὐπὶ τήνδε τὴν κόρην

At v. 1040, his impiety—

τάφῳ δ' ἐκεῖνον οὐχὶ κρύψετε
οὐδ' εἰ θελουσ' οἱ Ζηνὸς αἰετοὶ βορὰν
φέρειν νιν ἁρπάζοντες ἐς Διὸς θρόνους.

The violent and tyrannical character of Creon, such as the poet conceived it, is also pourtrayed in the Œdipus Coloneus, v. 728 seqq. Thus Jacob's "view of the Grundgedanke," or, as we should call it, the *moral* of the piece, seems nearer the truth: namely, "That we must piously honour the laws of the gods, and severely are those punished who infringe upon their holiness." For hither all the action tends. The deaths of Hæmon and Eurydice are nothing to Antigone, as they happen after her own. But they go to fill up the measure of Creon's misfortunes, to which even that of Antigone herself contributes: his conscience for that deed having been awakened by Tiresias to such a point that he is anxious to save her when too late. And thus he alone is left the unpitied survivor of misfortunes produced by his own violence.

But Böckh's theory is chiefly unjust towards Antigone[21]. The violence and folly which he takes such pains to fix upon her are merely that degree of spirit without which her heroic deed could not have taken place; and had she incurred no danger—had she violated no *human* commands—where would have been her merit? The Athenians, whose very drinking song was the celebrated *Scolion* of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, could not have taken Böckh's view of her character. For to what a servile moral does

[21] Her dispatching herself with her girdle is adduced as a proof of her violence. But who would not rather do so than die a miserable lingering death entombed alive?

it tend!—that the sacred duty towards departed friends, and the very laws of the gods, may be set aside at the will of an irresponsible tyrant, and that in such circumstances resistance is a crime and passive obedience a virtue: could this have been a moral ever intended for Attic ears? or could that completest of democracies have ever rewarded the poet who inculcated it? According to this view Ismene's character is the model of perfection, yet Ismene at the very outset, v. 65, acknowledges that she deserts her duty out of fear, and asks pardon of the infernal deities for so doing. Her character, indeed, is not without its amiable traits. She is the gentle and timid woman of ordinary life, but as a dramatic heroine wholly insignificant. The poet merely produces her to throw the character of Antigone into stronger relief, and when that is effected, she is dismissed and no more heard of her. This part of the play is conducted with all that dramatic skill in which Sophocles was so great a master, and the whole character of Antigone is painted with the most life-like strokes. In order to shew the superiority of ancient art it may be permitted to contrast, for a moment, the manner in which the same subject has been handled by a modern poet of no mean reputation—Alfieri, in his tragedy of the same name.

Instead of the timid and feminine Ismene, Alfieri has introduced Argia, the widow of Polynices, a heroine as determined, or even more so, than Antigone herself, since she reproaches her with having survived the death of Polynices:

"E tu, qual hai tu dritto
Di contendermi il mio? tu, che il vedesti
Morire, e ancor pur vivi?"

The force of contrast which is so skilfully managed in the play of Sophocles is thus destroyed, and the character of Antigone loses much of its effect. In order to give Argia time to come from Argos, the attempt at burial is postponed for six days, as we are told by Argia herself, who is astonished, as well she might be, that Antigone has suffered the body to remain so long:

"In campo preda
Alle fiere il mio sposo?—ed io nel campo
Passai pur dianzi!—e tu vel lasci? Il sesto
Giorno gia volge, che trafitto ei cadde
Per man del rio fratello; ed insepolto
E nudo ei giace?" Atto 1. Sc. 3.

What has Antigone been doing all this [illegible] heroic virgin has been spending it in weak and unav[illegible]

"O Polonice, o fratel mio, finora
Pianto invano—Passò stagion del pianto;
Tempo é d' oprar." Atto Primo, Sc. 2.

This is not the Antigone of Sophocles. By way of amends, however, Alfieri makes her a great deal more courageous towards the end of the play than the Antigone of the Grecian poet. When led off to execution she speaks as follows:

"Su, mi affrettate, andiam; sí lento passo
Sconviensi a chi del sospirato fine
Tocca la meta—Impietosir voi forse
Di me potreste?—Andiam—Ti veggo in volto
Terribil morte, eppur di te non tremo." Atto v. Sc 3.

This is mere bluster. The method of Sophocles is reversed, and she is made weak and irresolute before the deed, bold and determined after. Which is the more natural picture of female heroism? The Antigone of Sophocles is dragged off to death with the greatest reluctance. She bids a sad farewell to the glorious sun, and laments her untimely fate, and her bereavement of the joys of love. This instead of depreciating her heroism is an addition to it. We see that she is still a woman, with all the soft and tender feelings of her sex; and the act of piety towards her brother, which has stimulated her to deeds above her nature, gains, in consequence, an additional lustre. The art of the poet, too, is here shewn, in enlisting the feelings of the audience for his heroine. Such perfect, stoical, fortitude as is displayed by Alfieri's Antigone can never find its way to the heart. We may admire and wonder, but we cannot pity or regret. But it is, perhaps, unfair to compare any play, as to the poet's conduct of it, with that of the greatest master of dramatic art that ever existed.

A few words as to M. Böckh's translation. The almost superstitious care with which he has executed it is remarkable. Not only are the iambic and anapæstic verses given in a similar German measure, but even the different lines of the choral odes are rendered in an equal number of syllables. This must have been a work of prodigious toil, and of which only the German language and German industry seem capable. Even the most out-of-the-way epithets too are preserved—εὐάρματος 'wagenberühmte,' &c. In his preface (p. 5) he says that he has put the original opposite to his translation, not for the sake of *explaining the latter*, because he has purposely given it the same degree of darkness which the original has, and where the translation is incomprehensible, the Greek

is so likewise; but merely that the learned reader may satisfy himself how far it is a faithful version. The idea of explaining a translation by the original is calculated to make an English reader smile. There is much, however, that is useful and praiseworthy in this careful method of proceeding; and if not so pleasing to the general reader as a freer and more elegant version, it is at least more useful to the student: though there will, perhaps, be but few inclined to agree with M. Böckh's assertion, that the difficult passages were as unintelligible to the countrymen and contemporaries of the poet as to ourselves.

T. Dyer.

VI.

WHAT CITY DOES HERODOTUS MEAN BY CADYTIS? Lib. III. 5.

Herodotus seems to confine Phœnicia to the north, which has been called Phœnicia Proper; and he assigns the country from Phœnicia, as far as the vicinity or territory of the city of Cadytis, to the Syrians of Palestine; but from the city of Cadytis he assigns all the maritime towns, as far as Jenysus, to the king of Arabia; from Jenysus, again, the country belongs to the Syrians as far as the lake of Sirbon.

Lightfoot, Vol. ii. p. 303, edit. fol., Prideaux, *Connect.* Part i. Book i. pp. 85, 86. edit. 8vo, and the editor of *Calmet's Dict. Fragments*, Vol. iii. No. liv. p. 102, 3rd edit., are of opinion that by Cadytis Herodotus means Jerusalem. On examination, however, we shall find, I think, that Herodotus does not mean Jerusalem, but "Kedesh in Galilee in Mount Naphtali," one of the six cities of refuge, called also Kedesh Naphtali (Josh. xx. 7. Judg. iv. 6). The learned writers above mentioned ground their opinion on the word קדושה 'the Holy,' which was an epithet or distinguishing title of the city of Jerusalem; but we can hardly suppose that Herodotus, in mentioning or describing a city, would give only its epithet, omitting its proper name. Cadytis, as it is in Herodotus, was easily formed from the Kadesh of the Hebrew. In the Syrian idiom the ש is changed into ת, and the word would be pronounced by the natives Kadet or Kadit, which a Greek would naturally change into Kadytis. Another reason that

induces Lightfoot to suppose that Jerusalem is intended, is, that Herodotus describes it as a city not much inferior in size to Sardes: *Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος.* Kedesh, however, was a large and important town. In the time of Joshua it was the chief town of a district governed by one of the petty kings whom he smote, Josh. xii. 22; and being chosen for one of the cities of refuge, it must have been a considerable place, Josh. xx. 7. It is called *Kedasa* by Josephus: *Κέδασαν πόλιν . . . . μεταξὺ δ' ἐστὶ αὐτὴ τῆς τε Τυρίων γῆς καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.* *Antiq.* lib. XIII. c. 5. p. 572. Brocard says of it: "Cedes Nephtalim quæ fuit civitas fugitivorum in tribu Nephtalim, et abundat omnibus bonis. Monstrantur illic magnæ ruinæ, et sepulchra pulcherrima antiquorum." *Descript. Terræ Sanct.* Adrichomius describes it: "Magna et munita tribus Nephtalim urbs est, ob agri adjacentis ubertatem nullis non rebus abundans . . . . una cum aliis novem inter præcipuas regionis Decapoleos civitates numerata fuit; et tandem cum Christianam religionem amplexa esset, episcopali honore aucta fuit. Magnæ hic, etiam nunc, extant ruinæ, et pulcherrima antiquorum sepulchra quæ pristinum civitatis redolent splendorem." *Theatrum Terræ Sanct.* p. 104, &c. Benjamin of Tudela mentions it: קאדיס היא קדש נפתלי על שפת הירדן; but in saying, as he does here, that it was situated on the banks of the Jordan, he cannot be correct; there is, perhaps, some stream there that runs into the Jordan. No modern traveller that I know of appears to have visited the remains of Kedesh. Josephus, describing Galilee, says it was all well cultivated by the inhabitants: no spot was allowed to remain untilled. The towns were numerous, and the fertility of the soil was so great as to maintain a vast number of villages which were thickly spread over the country, and were so populous, that the least of them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants. *Προσησκήθη γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων πᾶσα, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἀργόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις πυκναὶ, καὶ τὸ τῶν κωμῶν πλῆθος πανταχοῦ πολυάνθρωπον διὰ τὴν εὐθηνίαν, ὡς τὴν ἐλαχίστην ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις ἔχειν οἰκήτορας.*" *De Bello Jud.* lib. III. c. 3. p. 1120. If the villages were so large and populous, we may well conclude that the chief city of Upper Galilee was, in ancient times, a very large and populous place, and perhaps not much inferior to Sardes.

Necho king of Egypt was marching against the Babylonians; his line of march was through the whole extent of the Holy Land; nd after entering into Syria proper, his route was then towards e Euphrates at Carchemish or Circesium. He defeated Josiah ng of Judah at Megiddo; and, after this battle, proceeding on

his march, he took the city of Cadytis. καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ (Megiddo) ἐνίκησε· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίης ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἷλε. Herod. lib. II. c. 159. Lightfoot incorrectly translates the words πόλιν τῆς Συρίης ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην, by "*the* great city of Syria;" which words taken by themselves might denote Jerusalem; the correct translation is "*a* great city of Syria." Herodotus describes the city of Azotus in the same words, Ἄζωτον, τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν. lib. II. c. 157; therefore, by the epithet μεγάλην, he means not to denote the *chief* city. Jerusalem would have been quite out of the line of Necho's march; his object was to proceed to Carchemish without delay; and it is not at all probable, nor is there any historical evidence to support the opinion, but rather the contrary, that he would march back, so far out of his way, as to Jerusalem; particularly when he asserted that he was impelled by a divine command to hasten onwards. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, 21.

"From Cadytis," says Herodotus, "a city, as it appears to me, not much less than Sardes, the maritime towns, as far as Jenysus, belong to the King of Arabia:" ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου, lib. III. c. 5. On these words Lightfoot observes: "Words obscure enough; especially which was the city Jenysus? the Talmudists indeed mention Jenush among the towns which they say are in the confines, but the situation does not agree." Vol. II. p. 303. With all deference to the learned writer, the situation does agree, and the Talmudists correctly place Jenysus on the confines; for it is south of Gaza, between it and Raphia, about seven miles from the latter, and fourteen from the former; it is now called Khanyounes, and is described as being well situated on an eminence, at a short distance from the sea, and surrounded by walls and gardens; the first inhabited place on entering Syria from the south. *Mod. Traveller*, Palestine, pp. 44, 45. Herodotus speaks of the maritime towns between Cadytis and Jenysus. This proves that Jerusalem could not be intended. Of maritime towns between Jerusalem and Jenysus we could not speak with more propriety than of maritime towns between Oxford and London; whereas between Kades in Galilee and Jenysus are included, from north to south, almost all the maritime towns of Palestine. Besides, the expression used by Herodotus when speaking of Cadytis, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, is a proof that he had himself been in Cadytis. He

expressly mentions his having been in Palestine: in speaking of pillars erected by Sesostris in commemoration of victories, he says that he himself saw some of them in Palestine, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὅρεον ἐούσας, lib. II. c. 106. He mentions also his visit to Tyre, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τῦρον τῆς Φοινίκης, lib. II. c. 44; from whence it was but a short distance to Cadytis—twenty miles according to Jerome. *Onomast. Urb. et Loc. Sac. Scrip.* It is likely that Herodotus, after landing at Tyre and remaining there for some time and visiting the neighbourhood, proceeded to Cadytis, and afterwards pursued his journey southwards along the coast of Palestine through the maritime towns, and then into Egypt. From the words ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, it is clear that he visited Cadytis, but there is no evidence that Herodotus ever visited Jerusalem, but a strong inferential evidence to the contrary, in his silence respecting it. For it is not to be supposed that, had he visited the capital of the Jewish nation, he would have omitted to describe the city, the temple and the Jews themselves, a people who, of all others, were most likely to attract the attention of that minute observer, by the singularity and marked peculiarity of their manners, polity and religious system; in all which they were so strikingly distinguished from every people in the world. Had Herodotus visited Jerusalem, his account of the people would have constituted a large and certainly one of the most interesting and curious portions of his entertaining history. In and about Cadytis, which Herodotus visited, there were no, at least very few, Jews; the ten tribes had been carried away captive some hundred years before, and the whole country, more especially the towns, filled with foreign colonists: and this circumstance accounts for Herodotus not mentioning any thing respecting the Jews, although he had visited Upper Galilee. To Jerusalem the Jews had returned from captivity many years before Herodotus was born; had he, then, ever been in Jerusalem, surely he would have described the city, the temple, and the people.

It was the opinion of Leydecker, that Cadytis is either Jerusalem or Kadesh Barnea, in the south of the Holy Land; and Scaliger was also inclined to think that by Cadytis Herodotus meant Kadesh Barnea. "Cogitavi aliquando," says Leydecker, "quod intelligatur ipsa Jerusalem...Confer locum ejusdem Herodoti, ubi a Phœnice usque ad montes Cadytis, emporia recenset. Saltem Jerusalem multis montibus cincta fuit. Alias, si id non placet, quid vetaret קדש Kadesh intelligi ad austrum Terræ Sanctæ. Saltem id

video Scaligero non displicuisse." Leydecker, *De vario Reipub. Heb. Statu*. Vol. II. lib. ii. c. 11. p. 243, and *De Repub. Heb.* Vol. I. lib. vi. c. 4. p. 349. With respect to Herodotus, Leydecker, in the passage quoted, makes a strange mistake; he says, that Herodotus enumerates the sea-ports *from Phœnicia* to the *mountains* of Cadytis. But Herodotus does no such thing; he could hardly commit such a blunder. Leydecker must have cast a very careless and hasty glance at the passage of Herodotus, whose words are, ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, γῆ ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιός ἐστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου. lib. iii. c. 5: "for from Phœnicia as far as the confines of the city of Cadytis the country belongs to those who are denominated Palestine Syrians; but from Cadytis, a city, as it appears to me, not much inferior to Sardes, from this city, the maritime towns, as far as Jenysus, belong to the king of Arabia." Here we see that Herodotus makes no mention of maritime towns intermediate from Phœnicia to Cadytis, which in truth would be downright nonsense; but he speaks of maritime towns situated between Kadytis and Jenysus. It is absurd to talk of maritime towns between Jerusalem and Jenysus; but, all the maritime towns of Palestine, beginning from Ptolemais and running the whole coast to the south, are included in the line of march from Kadesh Naphtali to Jenysus. To suppose that Kadesh Barnea was the place intended by Herodotus, is, if possible, a greater mistake than fixing on Jerusalem. Could Herodotus say of Kadesh Barnea, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος? or could he speak of maritime towns between Kadesh Barnea and Jenysus? maritime towns in an inland region, and that region a desert!

Since writing the above observations, I find that Hengstenberg coincides in opinion with those writers who have fancied that Herodotus intends Jerusalem by Kadytis. He mentions also, among several who have adopted and defended this opinion, the learned historian Niebuhr[1]. Hengstenberg *Christologie des Alt. Test. Die siebenzig Wochen Daniels*, p. 536. However, notwithstanding this host of authorities, I deem my opinion to be correct.

WILLIAM EWING.

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[1] *Kleine histor. und philol. Schriften*, Vol. I. p. 210, note 26.

VII.

Εὐριπίδου Ἰφιγένεια ἡ ἐν Αὐλίδι. *Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide. Cantabrigiæ*, 1840.

In apology for offering any remarks on a work published three years ago must be pleaded the fact, that till lately there existed no medium through which classical criticism in the shape of a review might be laid before the public.

The present editor of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* "was led many years ago by the perusal of a dissertation upon the Greek tragedians by Augustus Boeckh, published at Heidelberg, to examine the text of this play with much care and minuteness." After this revision, his attention was for a length of time completely engrossed by other pursuits, till a friend having inspected his corrected copy, strongly exhorted him to print it. This he has now done, with a series of notes, part of which were originally written in Latin, but the difficulty of carrying them through the press with accuracy compelled him to translate them. The title page, the dedication and advertisement, and part of the addenda et corrigenda, however, are still in that language, thereby presenting rather a strange contrast with the bulk of the volume.

The notes themselves are undoubtedly a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Greek drama in general, and this tragedy in particular. The editor evidently treads in the steps of Porson —a circumstance probably owing to his long experience as a scholar, as well as to his want of acquaintance with any classical work published within the last twenty years. He has done much service to the *Iphigenia* by the rejection of a large number of useless lines as having been interpolated by some ignorant poetaster—and perhaps, still more by thus leading the way in a species of criticism which appears to be the principal, if not the only hope of restoring, in the present instance, anything like a correct text. It is mainly in pursuance of this plan that the following pages have been attempted.

The means of discovering the forgeries above mentioned are pointed out by the editor in the following words (v. 1072 note). "The productions of this interpolator seem to defy the aid of criticism to convert them into sense: *he rarely takes the trouble of looking for words to constitute his verses further than the page before his eyes.*" So also Hartung, the latest German

annotator, to whose labours, as well as those of Hermann, there will be frequent occasion to refer: "Servatur in libris versuum numerus satis magnus, quibus bis eædem res enuntiantur, sic quidem ut, comparatis versibus utrinque sibi respondentibus, alteros Euripidis, alteros interpolatoris esse appareat. Inde hunc solis excudendis versibus delectatum esse perspicitur: quo in negotio sic versatus est, ut modo, servatis rebus, nihil nisi singula verba immutaret, modo colloquii personas inter se permutaret, interdum etiam metrum aliud substitueret." Accordingly it has been the object of each of the editors to remove as many of these interpolations as possible, and as might be expected, their opinions not unfrequently coincide. Still, however, there seems much left to be done, a number of lines have been suffered to remain, which fall under the category stated above, as being faulty in point of language, while their sense is only a dilution of what occurs elsewhere. These will be now pointed out in detail, in connection with other remarks, the numeration of the lines being adopted from Dindorf.

3 πεύσει. σπεῦδε. the conjecture of Porson, is approved by Hermann and the Camb. Ed. Perhaps σπεῦσον would be preferable, as coming nearer to the original letters. In v. 140, one of the Paris MSS. has σπεύσω for σπεύδω.

5 καὶ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς. The hiatus, in some cases (Med. 1081. Troad. 603), is evidently intended, but that seems no reason why it should not be removed, when this can be done so easily as here (κἀπ' ὀφθλαμοῖς), v. 15 (κἀκίνητοι), Hipp. 246 (κἀπ' αἰσχύνην), and Elect. 1317 (κἀπ' ἀλλοτρίαις).

9 Ed. Camb. has done much to improve the text by assigning this line and the following to the Πρεσβυτής, and striking out the words which follow (10-13 σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων—Ἀγάμεμνον ἄναξ), so that the whole runs thus: οὔκουν φθόγγος γ' οὔτ' ὀρνίθων οὔτε θαλάσσης ἔτι δ' ἡσυχία κ.τ.λ.

14 τήνδε for τῇδε Blom. Ed. Camb. rightly, as shewn by the interpolated words τόνδε κατ' Εὔριπον. In this, as in other places, the productions of the interpolator have an extrinsic value, from the testimony they bear to the text of those passages of which they are imitations.

42,3 Ed. Camb. may be right in reading τί πονεῖς; τί νέον; once only, as he assuredly is in substituting πάρα for περί σοι.

70 Ed. Camb.'s ὅς σφε is an improvement upon ὥς γε, though perhaps it is not quite necessary.

76 No instances have been brought by any of the editors to justify the use of ἔκδημον λαβὼν in the sense of "having found him

from home," which is at any rate a very unnatural one, independently of the contradiction involved, strictly speaking, in the connection of the two words. Markland's λαθών appears better, especially as other inflections of λαμβάνειν occur supra 70, infra 81. The common reading was probably introduced by those who thought ἔκδημον referred to Helen, the commencement of the next line being changed to Μενέλαος οὖν.

77 μόρῳ MSS. δρόμῳ. Markland Herm. Ed. Camb. ὅλην conj. Hartung. μολών, the conjecture of the present writer, has been anticipated by Seyffert (De Duplici Recensione Iphigeniæ Aulidensis. 1831). The Aldine μόνος, (retained by Dindorf, and explained μονωθεὶς τῆς γυναικός), is, however, confirmed by Soph. Trach. 960. μοῦνον εἰσιδοῦσ' ἄφαρ.

84 στρατοῦ γ' ἄνακτα, Dind. from a conjecture of Jacobs.—στρατηγεῖν, κᾷτα, vulg. στρατηγεῖν—εἵλοντο, though perfectly admissible, and confirmed by Æsch. Pers. 7, Hom. Il. II. 127, is not an usual phrase, at least in Euripides. It would seem better to read στρατηγόν, as in Suppl. 726: τοιόνδε τὸν στρατηγὸν αἱρεῖσθαι χρεών. Heath's correction κάρτα = nimirum, is better than any which have been proposed in place of κᾷτα.

88,9 κεχρημένοις following so closely upon χρώμενοι raises a suspicion of some error.

93 This line might be omitted without injury to the sense.

114 The sense of this line has been already expressed (p. 45), and the speech would end better without it.

117 Ed. Camb. πρὸς τὰς πρόσθεν δέλτους. rightly.

119,20 Ed. Camb. erases τὰν before κολπώδη πτέρυγ', and thus makes v. 119 a spond. dim. cat.; but lines of this description seem only to be introduced in couplets in the present system.

122 εἰς ἄλλας ὥρας. Hartung. Ed. Camb. correctly.

141 κρήνας ἵζεσθαι appears a strange expression. The passages quoted by Ed. Camb. (Andr. 117. Bacch. 1046) only prove the use of such phrases as ἵζειν or ἵζεσθαι δάπεδον, ἀνάκτορα, νάπος. &c., which may be resolved into the accus. of the cognate noun, the plain, grove, &c. being equivalent to a seat. So Soph. Œd. T. 161. θρόνον εὐκλέα θάσσει. ἵζεσθαι κρήνην would mean to sit, not *by*, but *on* or *in* a fountain. Perhaps the word πρός was accidentally omitted at the beginning of v. 142, from its similarity to that which follows. Cf. Helen. 303. πρὸς πλουσίαν τράπεζαν ἵζουσα. If this be thought inadmissible, it might be proposed to erase the first μήτ' (v. 141), and read μή νυν—μήδ' ὕπνῳ. that a couplet of spond. dim. cat. may be formed.

150 Ed. Camb. strikes out νιν, but a *single* spondaic line is objectionable. Hartung's νῦν has no meaning. May not the original

reading have been ἡν γὰρ πομπαῖσιν ἀπαντήσῃς, which was first corrupted to νιν ἀπαντήσῃς, then to νιν πομπαῖς ἀπαντήσῃς, and finally to the common reading?

152 Here νιν is certainly required.

172 Hermann's unfortunate correction ἀρῆων for Ἀχαιῶν may furnish an opportunity for noticing one passage to which a proper name should be restored in place of a common substantive: viz. Medea 2. Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν, where the reading ought obviously to be Αἶαν, confirmed by Herod. VII. 193. εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα. 197. ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος. It was certainly read by the scholiast, whose gloss is τὸ δὲ Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν (Αἶαν) πόλις ἐν Σκυθίᾳ οὕτω καλοῦμενη ὀνομαστικῶς.

186 ὀρομένα. ὀρμένα, the poetical form should be replaced here, and in Æsch. Sept. Theb. 88. 117.

194 Herm. Hartung. τοὺς Σαλαμῖνος στέφανον, but how could Ajax the son of Oïleus be called ὁ Σαλαμῖνος στέφανος? The right reading is either Elmsley and Dindorf's τᾶς or Ed. Camb.'s τὸν.

200 Ed. Camb. rightly objects to κεχαρημένον, but his own word κάτοχον is equally exceptionable. He mistakes the metre—δῶνος, Διομήδεα θ' (sic.) v. 199 does not correspond to v. 178. στέλλειν ἐπὶ τὰν Ἑλέναν. The old reading was not necessarily faulty in point of versification, a word being wanted to answer to δονακοτρόφου. The omission of one letter in the original word will give κεχρημένον, the first syllable of which may be either long or short, according to the quantity of the third in δονακοτρόφου. Cf. v. 89. ἀπορίᾳ κεχρημένοις.

203 τὸν ἀπὸ νησαίων τ' ὀρέων. Ed. Camb. says, "I have transposed τ', whose proper place after τὸν seems to have been changed from a superstitious scruple about the metre of the antistrophic v. 178 (182) ὅτ' ἐπὶ κρηναίαισι δρόσοις." Might not he have removed even this scruple, by reading in the strophe εὖτ', for ὅτ'? But the metre is evidently the same as that of vv. 180, 201. The common reading is amply defended by Æsch. P. V. 138. τοῦ περὶ πᾶσαν θ' εἱλισσομένου.

219 χρυσοδαιδάλτους, this should evidently be the dative χρυσοδαιδάλτοις, agreeing with στομίοις. Independently of the greater aptitude of the adjective so applied, στομίοις has no epithet, while πώλους has καλλίστους, besides the participle θεινομένους.

231 There is no occasion to go through the remaining part of the chorus, which is acknowledged to be the work of an interpolator. Ed. Camb. omits it. Hartung, who remarks, "qui patienter tulit Euripidis injurias plerasque Hermannus, in falsarii opere concinnando multum studii consumsit," nevertheless in imitation of his master's patience, himself toils

331 Hermann's οὐχὶ δείν', εἰ τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκεῖν οἶκον οὐκ ἐάσομαι, is unnecessary, but not solæcistic, as Ed. Camb. thinks. A precisely parallel instance occurs Soph. Aj. 1131. εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐᾶς θάπτειν παρών. This and similar expressionsare generally explained as if οὐκ ἐᾷς = κωλύεις, &c. The more probable account seems to be that εἰ with the indic. meaning "if, as in the case," or "since," takes οὐ after it as naturally as ἐπεί. The verse from Medea (88) is undoubtedly spurious. (εἰ τούσδε γ' εὐνῆς οὕνεκ' οὐ στέργει πατήρ), because, 1. The whole clause has no natural connexion with the preceding sentence. 2. It is a mere repetition of what had been said a few lines back. 3. It destroys the correspondence of the speeches in the dialogue, by giving four lines in answer to three. Hartung would erase both it and the line before.

336 The MSS. read οὔτοι καταινῶ. Herm. Dind. οὔτε κατατενῶ. Hartung, οὔτ' αὖ κατατενῶ. Perhaps the true reading is οὔτ' αὖ κατακρινῶ λίαν σ' ἐγώ The letters κρ may have been omitted in transcription, and added at the top, thus κατ^{κρ}αινῶ. The next copyist either overlooked them altogether, or mistook them for γρ (γράφεται) the mark of a various reading.

349 ἵνα. in quâ re. Ed. Camb. Here perhaps may be introduced an attempt to restore Soph. Elect. 21. ὡς ἐνταῦθ' ἐμεν Ἵν' οὐκ ἐτ' ὀκνεῖν καίρος. Wunder reads ὡς καθέσταμεν, from a conjecture of Kreussler's, supposing the common text to be a gloss; and this, though in itself to the last degree hazardous, has suggested a connection which appears to bear all the marks of truth, ὡς ἐνθ' ἔσταμεν, which might have been written by mistake ὡς ἐνθ^{τα}εσμεν; and the transcriber thinking the letters τα belonged to ἐνθ, would write ὡς ἐνταῦθ' ἐσμεν, the actual reading of some MSS. ἐμεν would be an alteration for the sake of the metre. Cf. Œd. T. 1442. ἵν' ἔσταμεν χρείας, and Trach. 1147. ξυμφορᾶς ἵν' ἔσταμεν.

388 Ed. Camb. is right in μετεθέμην εὐβουλίαν, but wrong in objecting to εἰ-οὐκ εὖ. Cf. v. 331.

394 στράτευ', ἕτοιμοι δ' εἰσί, is the excellent emendation of Ed. Camb.

415 Dindorf would expunge the whole speech of the ἄγγελος. The reasons for following him, though in opposition to Hermann, are briefly these: 1. Herm. shows that Ulysses, in Soph. Phil. 974, breaks into the middle of a line, but he has yet to prove that the same licence can be used in the case of a long speech like the present. 2. It abounds with faults of language: *e. g.* ὥστε (ὡς τι Herm. ὡς σὺ Ed. Camb.) τερφθείης, 418: for if ἐκομίσθη is to be understood, with Ed. Camb. after Ὀρέστης, almost any

difficulty in the language may be removed by a similar process. προτελίζουσι (433) may be a Greek word, but it does not look like a tragic one. ἐξάρχεσθαι κανᾶ (435) is improperly used for ἐνάρχεσθαι, which occurs v. 1471. 3. The tone and air of the whole resemble much more the production of a man equally contemptible in point of thought and expression, than that of Euripides. Nothing need be said of such miserably flat lines as 417, which Hartung has properly expelled. Probably a leaf was wanting in the interpolator's copy, and he determined to supply the deficiency by picking ideas and phrases from other parts, and applying them, as usual, where they are least called for.

445 to 468 Some of this has undoubtedly been interpolated, though where the tampering begins it is not so easy to say. ὄμμα συμβάλω, Æschylus. Ag. 1315, uses for "to close the eye." In v. 456 παρῆν would be a better reading: in v. 461 νυμφεύσειν. Cf. Soph. Ant. 740. Trach. 1238. οἶμαι γάρ νιν κ. τ. λ. (462) betrays the hand of the interpolator, who has recourse to the most inartificial expedients to introduce thoughts belonging to other places, and thereby conceal the extreme poverty of his own imagination. At all events the lines 465—468 should be struck out as being most inharmonious. The two first are taken from 1241—1245, where it should seem παρών was the word found by the interpolator in the older copies, in place of πατρός.

500 to 503 These four lines are properly inclosed in brackets by Hartung, who thinks them unworthy of Menelaus, but though the sentiment is not unworthy of the speaker, the language is unworthy of the poet.

504 to 510 These three also are condemned, with justice, by Hartung and Ed. Camb. Their spuriousness was first pointed out by Boeckh. In 519 θάνῃ γε πρόσθε, the common reading is perfectly suitable to the person into whose mouth it is put. Hartung thus gravely defends the sentiment, "Asperæ asperis rebus medelæ adhibendæ sunt, et præstat inimicos quam liberos suos interficere."

520 This and the following line Hartung properly encloses in brackets, the former as taken from Soph. Ant. 1055, the latter as guilty of a double tautology. The thought was taken, as usual, from v. 956, &c. infra.

535 ἀνασπάσουσι, Markland's second conjecture is the best that has been proposed. The reasons urged against ξυναρπάσουσι, as occurring immediately before, will apply equally to ἀναρπάσουσι.

542 The faults in the language and sense of this verse are well exposed by Ed. Camb., who degrades it from the text.

550 Markland's ἐντείνει τᾶν corresponds better than ἐντείνεται to the antistrophic v. 565, τὰν τ' ἐξαλλάσσουσαν ἔχει.

590 No loss would be sustained from the removal of the greater part at least of both of the semichoral songs, the latter of which Dindorf, Hermann, and Hartung agree in condemning. The words *τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἴδετ' Ἰφιγένειαν ἄνασσαν ἐμήν Τὴν Τυνδάρεώ τε Κλυταιμνήστραν, Ὡς ἐκ μεγάλων ἐβλαστήκασ'* (?) *Ἐπί τ' εὐμήκεις ἥκουσι τύχας*, do not seem like the production of any poet, much less of Euripides. How much has been interpolated cannot be stated with certainty; but either the words just given have been substituted for the true reading, which resembled them in sense, or that reading has been so tampered with as to obliterate all marks of genuineness.

607 Parts of this speech of Clytæmnestra betray strong marks of the hand of the interpolator. vv. 615, 16 and 627, 30 have been already expunged by Ed. Camb.; but there is much more which seems to have no title to its present place. The suspicion is confirmed by the want of harmony which many of the lines exhibit, the frequent repetition of the word *πωλικός*, and the little that is gained by the minuteness of the directions given. The passage must be considered as it stands in the common text, not as it has been corrected by various critics. vv. 618—20 should certainly be rejected, as well as 623—626, which are trivial and absurd to the last degree. After all, there would scarcely be reason to blame any future editor who might suggest that the whole (590—630) had been interpolated by some man who thought the royal cortège required a welcome, several of the lines having been taken from lost tragedies.

652 Neither Hermann's *οὐκ οἶδα σ' ὅ τι φῄς, φίλτατ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὦ πάτερ*, Hartung's *οὐκ οἶδα· φῄς δὲ φίλτατα τάδ' ἐμοὶ, πάτερ*, nor Ed. Camb. *οὐκ οἶδα, φίλταθ', ὅ τι λέγεις σύ μοι, πάτερ*, carries conviction with it. Why should not *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ φῄς* be as good Greek as *οἶσθ' ὅ δρᾶσον*? Possibly however the following, based on Hermann's conjecture, may be nearer the truth: *οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅ τι φῄς, φίλτατ', οὐκ ἴσμεν, πάτερ*. According to this, *οὐκ ἴσμεν* may have been changed into *οὐκ οἶδα*, the more usual phrase.

657 Hartung has successfully defended the common reading, *θέλω γε* against Hermann's *θέλων*. Ed. Camb. adopts Scaliger's *τὸ δε θέλειν*.

665 Hermann's *εἰς ταὐτὸν ἡμεῖς σοί σύ θ' ἥκεις σῷ πατρί*, and Hartung's *εἰς ταὔτ' ἐγὼ, θύγατερ, σύ θ' ἥκεις σῷ πατρί*, which have been admitted into the text of their respective editions, are faulty in point of metre, to say nothing of harmony and language. Ed. Camb's marginal correction is infinitely better, *εἰς ταὐτὸν ἥκεις, ὦ κόρη, σὺ σῷ πατρί*. Hartung takes occasion to notice some passages in the tragedians where *τε* stands by itself, and

corrects Eurip. Phœn. 847, ὡς πᾶσ' ἀπήνη to ὡς παῖς ταπεινή. A less violent change would be the substitution of ὑπήνη, a word occurring Æsch. Fragm. Glauc. Mar. 5, δαῦλος δ' ὑπήνη καὶ γενειάδος πυθμήν. With the expression may be compared ὦ φίλον γένειον. Hec. 286.

671 ἔα γέ τ'. Herm. Dindorf. But γε τε, as Ed. Camb. remarks, are never joined in Attic Greek. A better suggestion would be γ' ἔτ', (which has been anticipated by Doderlein,) as being nearer to the old reading than Bloomfield's and Ed. Camb. ἔασον. Hartung gives ἔα γ', ἐπεὶ οὐ, from a suggestion of Hermann.

734 Musgrave's κἂν σὺ φαῦλ' ἡγῇ τάδε, praised by all, though adopted by none, is at least equally good with ἢ σὺ φαῦλ' ἡγεῖ. (Herm. and Ed. Camb.) and εἰ σὺ φαῦλ' ἡγεῖ. (Hartung,) while at the same time it is much nearer to the old text, καὶ σὺ δὲ φαῦλ' ἡγῇ.

741 This verse is rejected by Ed. Camb. as also vv. 746—8, rightly. ἐξιστορήσων εἶμι has however a parallel in Phœn. 1003, προσηγορήσων εἶμι· The last two lines of the speech, altered by Hermann and banished by Hartung, are perfectly correct as they stand.

754 ἀνά τε ναυσὶ should be translated "in" or "upon ships." To render "with," as is generally done, besides introducing a tautology with σὺν, which follows immediately, would be to introduce what appears an unwarrantable use of ἀνὰ with the dative. The words of Homer, which are commonly adduced in support of this sense (Il. v. 15) χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, must be construed "bearing the garland of Apollo on (or around) a golden rod." In passages like v. 1058 of this play, ἀνὰ δ' ἐλάταισι στεφανώδει τε χλόᾳ, the word ἅμα should be restored.

773 Hartung has shewn his discretion in enclosing in brackets the whole passage, Πέργαμον δὲ Φρυγῶν πόλιν down to πόσιν προλιποῦσα. Hermann's ingenuity has been severely put to the test in explaining it as it stands: while even as it appears in the Cambridge edition, divested of its grosser faults by expurgation and correction, it fully justifies Hartung's verdict: "neque enim frigidiora, neque inaniora inveniri possunt."

792 Ed. Camb's removal of ερυμα to v. 773 is most ingenious, but if that passage be spurious, of course cannot be admitted. Hermann's ῥῦμα seems a happy conjecture. The same word has been restored by Valckenær for ἔρυμα to Phœn. 997.

796 ὡς ἔτυχε Λήδα * * * ὄρνιθι πταμένῳ. Ed. Camb. with great probability would fill up the lacuna with πλαθεῖσ'. Few will agree either with Hermann's ὥς σ' ἔτεκεν ὄρνιθι, or Hartung's ὡς ἔτυχεν ὄ. π. Διὸς ἐναλλαχθὲν δέμας.

801 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐνθάδ' is put, says Ed. Camb., for τῶν ἐνθ. Ἀχαιῶν.

In that case τῶν Ἀχ τῶν ἐνθ would seem to be required. ἐνθάδ should be rather joined with ποῦ.

809 This passage is evidently corrupt, nor does Ἑλλάδ' for Ἑλλάδι γ remove the difficulty, as it has not yet been made out that the elision of the final ι in the dative is justifiable. In Alcestis 1137, quoted by Ed. Camb., καρατομῶν is the admirable emendation of Lobeck for καρατόμῳ. Still Elmsley's οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινος, adopted by Hermann, though preferable to Hartung's πασιν, οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν, is too hazardous an alteration. The safest course seems to be, following Elmsley's first suggestion, to consider Ἑλλάδ' as the accusative after ἐμπέπτωκεν, "cujus constructionis exemplum," says Hermann, "sed illud tamen non omni dubitatione vacuum in Sophoclis Œd. Col. 942 invenitur."

810 The passage that follows, down to the end of the speech, is in all likelihood due to the interpolator. It is usual, only the former part expressed in a different and much weaker manner. The very words in 813 are borrowed from 804. It is curious to remark the interpolator's constant habit of introducing speeches within speeches (815-18). For other instances of this, vide supra 430-34, 463, 4

824 ὅτι σέβεις apparently rests only on the conjecture of the Aldine editor for ὅτι προσέβης ἀν, which can scarcely have been meant, as Hartung and Ed. Camb. think, for a gloss on κατεῖδες. Hermann is not therefore to be blamed for changing the text, though his προσσέβειν is improbable, especially as δ' is wanted after αἰνῶ. Seyffert proposes ὅ προσέθης, which is perhaps right, and defends its use in the sense of *exprobrare* by parallel instances.

865 ὁ λόγος εἰς μέλλοντα σώσει χρόνον is Ed. Camb.'s excellent restoration of the corrupt μέλλοντ' ἄν ὥσῃ, which Hermann did little to improve by substituting ἄν ὡς δῇ. Hartung gives ἀνωθεῖ.

912 γελᾷ MSS. Dind. πέλας. Markl. Herm. Hart. Ed. Camb. πελᾷ would come nearer the vulgate of Soph. Philoct. 1150. Perhaps however πέλει is the true reading.

920 This and the three following lines Hartung justly considers spurious. Their faults in harmony and expression are palpable.

932 From this verse to 943 a passage has been interpolated which carries with it its own condemnation. It is merely a miserable dilution of the idea contained in the four forcible lines 944-7. The source of almost all the expressions may be found in the page before us, ἃ δὴ κατ' ἄνδρα γίγνεται νεανίαν comes from τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ (931) περιβάλων καταστελῶ from κοσμήσω; ἐγὼ παρέξω τοὐμὸν δέμας from ἐλευθέραν φύσιν παρέχων (930) and τοὔνομα κ.τ λ. (in 944, 5) from 947 infra. This recurrence of the words σῷ πόσει, πόσις σος, τοὐμὸν ὄνομα φονεύσει, in the course of ten

lines, and the childish εἰ καὶ μὴ σίδηρον ἤρατο—ἁγνὸν δ' οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ σῶμ' ἐμόν, betray the inveterate versifying propensity of the interpolator most clearly. Let the reader try to peruse the speech without these lines, and he will find how much its spirit and vigour are improved.

945 Should not Μενέλεως δ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν be construed with ἐγώ, "I were a Menelaus among men"?

951 οὐδ' εἰς ἄκραν χεῖρ', in spite of Ed. Camb.'s defence, can scarcely be classical Greek. Markland's correction is οὐδέ τις. Why not οὐδ' εἷς (sc. ἅψεται)?

958 Hartung's τυχὼν δ' ὅταν τε μὴ τύχῃ, which is probably right, should have been supported by Suppl. 499, θέου θέλοντος ἥν τε μὴ θέλῃ.

959 The words μυρίαι κόραι θηρῶσι λέκτρον τοὐμὸν are condemned by Hermann and Hartung. They should have rejected the two lines, γαμοῦντων ἕκατι being the fruit of the interpolator's presumptuous ignorance, while θηρῶσι is taken from θήραμα, 963. If they are to be retained, the reading should be ἢ τῶν γάμων ἕκατι; (sc. λέγω) μ. κ. θ. λ. τ. εἰ ῥήτον τόδε.

1005-7 These three lines form a most lame and impotent conclusion, and had much better be omitted. The second was evidently originated by 999-1002 supra.

1062 Tyrwhitt's arrangement of the words of the nuptial song adopted by Ed. Camb. is decidedly right, in opposition to that of Hermann, who makes ὁ Μουσᾶν εἰδὼς γεννάσεις equivalent to *à musis generationes edoctus.*

1098 Ed. Camb. expunges vv. 1099-1103, which obliges him to suppose that in the present line πόσιν has been substituted for some word like δέμας or πόδα, coming before Ἀγαμέμνονος. βάσιν would be nearer the letters, but the whole speech is unnecessary; and ἐυρεθήσεται so immediately preceding εὕρηχ' (1107) furnishes strong proof of an interpolation.

1124-6 These lines are rejected by Bremi, Matthiæ, and Hartung, but Hermann and Ed. Camb. are right in giving them to Clytæmnestra, in which case only 1126 will need erasure.

1151 προσώρισας, the conjecture of Hartung and Ed. Camb. is rightly substituted for the corrrupt προσουρίσας, retained by Hermann. Scaliger's προσουδίσας πέδῳ, (Dind.) and Musgrave's πρὸς ὄκριδας βαλών, though consonant with the spirit of the early times, (vide Herod. v. 92, 3), are repugnant to the character of Agamemnon.

1153 Διός σε παῖδ' ἐμώ δὲ συγγόνω (Ed. Camb.) expresses more idiomatically the sense of Hermann's Διός τε παῖδ' ἐμώ τε συγγόνω, agreeably to the rule, that when two separate attributes are

predicated of the same subject, they are connected by the particle δὲ.

1163 This line is totally unnecessary, and enfeebles the sense.

1168 καλὸν γένος. MSS. Ald. γε νῶ. Edd. vett. Ed. Camb. νῷν. Hart. γ' ἔθος. Elms. Matth. Dind. κλέος. Herm. γάνος should be restored from Æsch. Ag. 581, ἀρχαῖον γάνος.

1170 Here again is a line worse than useless. The next must be read, ἄγ' ἥν στρατεύσῃ διὰ μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας, omitting the intermediate words; and thus will be removed the discrepancy between ἥν στρατεύσῃ and γενήσει, as well as the repetition ἐν δώμασιν—ἐν δόμοις (1173).

1193 σφῶν, the conjecture of Hartung and Mehlhorn, for αὐτῶν, has more probability than those of Hermann and Elmsley (Ed. Camb).

1210 Ed. Camb's correction, τοῖσδ' ἂν ἀντείποι, which had been anticipated by Burges (Præf. ad Troades), is certainly the true one. An opposite corruption seems to have taken place Æsch. Prom. Vinct. 37 τοῖσδε κοὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω, which perhaps should be κοὐδὲν πρὸς τάδ'.

1221 This and the following line are proved to be spurious by the recurrence of δοῦσ' (ἀφεῖσ', Ed. Camb.)—ἔδωκα—as well as by the fact, that the sentiment is borrowed from 1220, the words from 1216.

1237 Matthiæ and Hartung are right in expunging this line. The idea of death is sufficiently implied in the preceding.

1242 See on v. 465 παρὼν δ' Ὀρέστης ἐγγὺς ἀναβοήσεται.

1279 The interpolator has been at work on this speech of Iphigenia. To his labours may be ascribed v. 1299, as remarked by Ed. Camb. vv. 1304-6, 1309, 10, besides several verbal corruptions: nor are vv. 1325-35 without traces of his authorship, though neither Hartung nor Ed. Camb. have given a satisfactory account of the amount to be assigned to him.

1344 ἥν δυνώμεθα, the common text, is in vain defended by Ed. Camb. either ἵν' ὀδυνώμεθα must be read with Hermann, or, with Hartung, the whole line must be expunged.

1377 Ed. Camb. is wrong in saying that v. 1382 is the only intrusion made by the interpolator on the trochaics of this drama. The present line is totally unnecessary after 1374, being a mere repetition of what had been said there and in 1368 supra. Part also of vv. 1380-1, is evidently spurious. They must be read in one line—τάς τε μελλούσας γυναῖκας μηκέθ' ἁρπάζειν ἐᾷν. The words ἥν τι δρῶσι βάρβαροι are taken as usual from v. 1389, while τᾶς ὀλβίας ἐξ Ἑλλάδος almost every critic has perceived to be corrupt.

1391 Hermann's τί τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο γ'; ἆρ' ἔχοιμ' ἂν ἀντειπεῖν ἔπος; appears the true reading, involving as it does the change of only one letter. There seems no more reason for altering the very few trochaics which have not the cæsura after the fourth foot, than for reforming those senarians which form so small a class of exceptions to the general rule, of having a pause in the middle of the third or fourth foot. Cf. Soph. Philoct. 1402. εἰ δοκεῖ, στείχωμεν. | ὦ γενναῖον εἰρηκὼς ἔπος.

1405 Into this and the following speech of Achilles a great deal of spurious matter has been thrust, which each of the three Editors has more or less perceived, though objections may be made to each of the arrangements adopted in consequence. In the following scheme, most of the lines comdemned by Hartung and the Cambridge Editor are rejected, besides others of which no suspicion has hitherto been entertained.

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ.

Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, μακάριόν μέ τις θεῶν	1405
ἔμελλε θήσειν, εἰ τύχοιμι σῶν γάμων·	
ζηλῶ δὲ σοῦ μὲν Ἑλλάδ', Ἑλλάδος δὲ σέ,	
εὖ γὰρ τόδ' εἶπας ἀξίως τε πατρίδος.	1408
ὅμως δ', ἴσως γὰρ κἂν μεταγνοίης τάδε,	1425
ἐλθὼν τάδ' ὅπλα θήσομαι βῶμου πέλας,	1427
ὡς οὐκ ἐάσων σ', ἀλλὰ κωλύσων θανεῖν.	1428

ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ (as before). 1417-28

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ.

ὦ λῆμ' ἄριστον, οὐκ ἔχω πρὸς τοῦτ' ἔτι	1422
λέγειν, ἐπεί σοι τάδε δοκεῖ··γενναῖα γάρ.	

The rest should be omitted, as only weakening the sense. V. 1424 was added by some one who did not understand the construction of γενναῖα γάρ. Cf. 1355 supra. Soph. Trach. 409. After 1423 would follow 1434, &c.

1531 It is needless to say that this whole scene is an evident forgery. Those fragments of it which may have belonged to the lost speech of Diana have been collected by Hartung, p. 252, and Ed. Camb. pp. 229-30. "Hæc (Diana) igitur," says Hermann, "non solum de sacrificio explicabat, sed commemorabat etiam ministerium in templo suo in Tauris, cui Iphigeniam destinâsset neque improbabile est adjecisse eam alia quoque quæ ad Agamemnoniæ domûs fata apertiùs tectiùs significanda pertinerent." (p. xxviii.)

J. C.

[P.S. It is proper to add, that since the above, was finished, the writer has seen Dindorf's notes to Euripides, which he did not

previously know to have been published, and finds that several of his suggestions with regard to interpolations, particularly the whole passage 590—630, have been anticipated by the Professor. Of course he feels glad that any remarks of his are confirmed by the judgment of so distinguished a scholar.]

VIII.

ON THE RHYTHM OF ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC.

THE following remarks were suggested by some parts of Mr. Blackie's paper on the "Rhythmical Declamation of the Ancients," in the last Number of the *Classical Museum*.

In modern music there is melody, harmony, time, and rhythm. In ancient Greek music there was melody, certainly; harmony, probably not; time there must have been, by the same necessity that there is space in painting; and if rhythm be proportion of times, then there must have been rhythm too, as there must be *some* proportion between the lines in a picture. But was there rhythm, or time, in the modern technical sense? In modern music rhythm and time are not the same thing: at least there are two distinct things which may conveniently be called by those names. A melody is in time if the duration of each sound (or silence) bear a determinate and very simple proportion to the duration of every other. There is no modern music which is not in time in this sense. For whatever license the performer may take to himself, still it *is* a licence, and the hearer feels that it is, and continues, in spite of it, to trace the proportions of the times, altering, as it were, the unit of the scale by which he measures them. It is like measuring lines with an elastic rule, and so making them seem to have the proportion we desire. The *idea* of strict time is never relinquished for a moment, either by the musician or the hearer.

But rhythm is something more than time. Music may be in time without being rhythmical; it cannot be rhythmical without being in time. It is in time, when the duration of every sound is, actually or in idea, expressible in simple numbers by means of the same unit. It is rhythmical, when the sounds are distributed into regular groups or periods, marked by the recurrence of accents,

and particular affections of the melody or harmony. (See Callcott's *Musical Grammar*, Part IV. Marx, *Allgemeine Musiklehre*, pp. 167—178). And the laws which regulate the composition of these periods are absolute; the ear will not tolerate any deviation from them whatever. A melody which pretends to be rhythmical must *be* so, or it is intolerable. Yet there is music which is in time, but does not pretend to be rhythmical. This is what we are accustomed to call *recitative;* and the ear tolerates it without difficulty. It is true that the usual notation of bars is used in recitative; but this is only for the convenience of performance—to enable the accompaniments to keep time easily with the singer. It is also true that we sometimes meet with music which is really rhythmical, but which imitates the style of melody peculiar to modern recitative, and is therefore called by that name. But still I think it will be allowed that the essential character of recitative consists in this, that it abandons the idea of *rhythm*, whilst it preserves the idea of *time*. (Innumerable instances of true recitative will occur to every one. An example of spurious, *i.e.* rhythmical recitative, is "Der Hölle selbst will ich Segen entringen," in Spohr's *Faust*.)

When verse is set to music *rhythmically*, the laws of quantity, accent, metre, and sense, all must and all do give way to the necessities of the musical rhythm, unless the composer have skill to effect an accommodation between them. But supposing a melody to have been found which is capable of being adapted to the words without doing any violence to them, different kinds of rhythm may almost invariably, even in the simplest cases, be given to the same notes. And what is important to observe is, that these differences of rhythm alter materially the character of the melody. Hence the necessity of a notation, not only for sounds, but also for *duration* of sounds, that the performer may know which of all the supposable rhythms the composer intended.

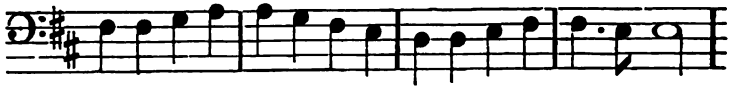
What can be more regular, or, apparently better fitted to determine the rhythm of the music, than the metre of Schiller's lines, "an die Freude?"

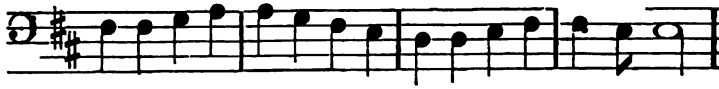
> "Freude schöner Götterfunken
> Tochter aus Elysium,
> Wir betreten feuertrunken
> Himmlische, dein Heiligthum." &c.

But if Beethoven had only indicated the melody which he has adapted to them thus,

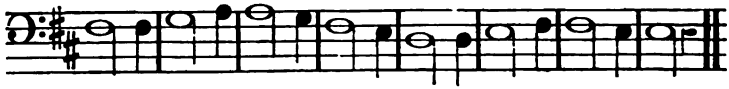
mi mi fa sol sol fa mi re
do do re mi mi re re
mi mi fa sol sol fa mi re
do do re mi re do do,

who should have decided between the two following interpretations of these symbols?





or,



&c.

I leave the reader to discover for himself which of them was really intended by the great ῥυθμοποιός.

Of course there are instances, such as:

"God save great George our king,
Long live our noble king,"

and

"Cam' ye by Athol,
Lad wi' the philabeg?"

in which the words and the notes being given, there would remain no reasonable doubt about the rhythm; but *generally* there would be ambiguity, and ambiguity affecting essentially the character of the music. And if this would happen even when the metre was simple and uniform, how much more when it had all the variety admissible in a lyrical poem?

Now recitative is not liable to the same kind of ambiguity. There the music depends wholly on the words; and even though there may be several admissible ways of fixing the time, yet since there is properly no *musical rhythm*, the character of the melody remains essentially the same, so long as no violence be done to the rhythm and sense of the words. Give a tolerably good singer the words and the notes of a tolerably well-written recitative, and he will be certain, without the help of any notation for the time, to recognize the idea of the composer in all its essential features.

The application of what has been said to the subject of ancient Greek music is obvious. If the Greek music was rhythmical in the modern sense, how was the rhythm ascertained by the performers without the help of a notation? Mr. Blackie indeed sees little difficulty here. "As for the matter of notation," he says, (p. 354,) "is the living rhythm under the ear and hand of the rhythmopoeist the less perfect or pleasing because there is no separate signature for it at the commencement of a paper-bar?" &c. Of course not. But what was to be done when the rhythmopoeist was dead, or absent? If the rhythm were an essential part of his composition, could he have been content to leave it at the mercy of chance or tradition? "It was the very business of the ῥυθμοποιία," says Mr. Blackie (ibid.), "as a distinct division of ancient musical science, to equalise the different feet of a verse by extending or shortening the individual syllables, according as the nature of the regulating rhythm, the character of the piece, and the expression of the individual passage, might require." But would there not, almost always, be several different ways in which this might be done? And was the character of the music liable to be materially affected by the selection of one way rather than another? If it were, must not the want of a notation have been felt and supplied? If it were not, then the ancient music differed essentially from the modern *rhythmical* music, and must have resembled in some degree the modern *recitative;* not, of course, in the character of the melody, but in the circumstance of the absence of rhythm. And here I repeat, that absence of rhythm, in this sense, does not imply absence of *time;* in fact, it seems to me that the *idea* of strict time is invariably preserved in all modern music, whether rhythmical or not, in spite of the licence assumed for the sake of expression. I have already explained how this may be supposed to happen; how the absolute value of time may be imagined to vary with the varying passions of the hearer.

"I hesitate not," says Mr. Blackie (p. 355) "to assert.... that Ῥυθμὸς in Greek means *time,* and nothing else, when applied to music, and that ῥυθμοί, in the plural, means musical bars played in time." According to the view which I have been endeavouring to explain, this assertion may be admitted, though not in the sense in which it seems to be meant. For ῥυθμὸς would certainly mean *time, and nothing else;* i.e. it would *not* mean *musical rhythm* in the modern sense. Cicero's expression "quod metiri possumus æqualibus intervallis" only assumes the existence of a unit by

which the duration of each sound can be measured, and so "numerosum" need not mean "rhythmical," but only "in time." It is plain, however, that this view does not imply that the rhythm of the Greek music was "extremely defective and imperfect." It implies that a certain kind of rhythm did not exist at all, but allows unlimited variety to that kind of it which did.

Aristides, lib. I. (p. 40 ed. Meibom.) speaks of a theory which contemplated *rhythm* independently of *metre*, and employed both *rests* (κενοὶ χρόνοι) and *compound rhythms* (σύνθετοι ῥυθμοί). The passage is, to me at least, obscure; but it seems to indicate rather a difference than a resemblance between these compound rhythms and the modern rhythmical phrases or periods. However, it certainly has, at first sight, the appearance of implying a kind of rhythm distinct from mere time. After all, it may be said that even in recitative there are *phrases*, σύνθετοι ῥυθμοί, but not subject either in themselves, or in their relation to one another, to the laws which govern the composition of *rhythmical periods*[1].

I am far from pretending that these considerations afford a complete solution of the difficulty, but I think it must be allowed that this matter of notation really is a difficulty, and does require a solution.

With respect to the passage which Mr. Blackie (p. 353) quotes from my article MUSIC in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, it is only necessary to say that the word "rhythm" in the beginning of it was meant to correspond to the Greek ῥυθμός, and that the expression "modern system of *musical* rhythm" was used in the sense which has been explained in this paper. The argument is, that if the rhythm of the music was not determined by the words, it must have been very simple and uniform, since otherwise a notation would have been necessary; that the supposition of a very simple and uniform rhythm is improbable; and that therefore it is most likely that it *was* determined by the words: that modern *musical rhythm* is not, and in general cannot be so determined, and that consequently it is probable that

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[1] Böckh has attempted to divide the ancient melody to Pindar's first Pythian (χρυσέα φόρμιγξ κ.τ.λ.) into rhythmical phrases, after the modern fashion, and has partly succeeded; but the sense of the poetry has suffered in a way scarcely to be paralleled, except by some instances of modern psalmody. See Böckh *de Metr. Pind.* III. 12, p. 268. Burney's arrangement of the same melody is bad in a different way, but it has the merit of paying more respect to the sense. (*Hist. of Music*, Vol. I. p. 103).

nothing like the modern system of musical rhythm existed. This argument does not imply "that ancient music was more vitally and substantially connected with poetry than modern music," nor does it imply a repetition of Burney's taunt about imperfection; nor, lastly, does it imply that the ancients were "monsters," though I would not undertake to defend the unqualified assertion that they were not. I certainly do think that their ignorance, or rejection of those consonances which seem to us the most natural and pleasing, might fairly be called monstrous. Is modern rhythm more natural than harmony? There seems to be no evidence of the Greeks having discovered that *three* sounds could produce a consonance at all.

W. F. Donkin.

IX.

MISCELLANIES.

On the Meaning of the Word αἰανής.

The word αἰανὴς occurs in the following passages of the Tragedians :—Soph. Aj. 653 : ἐξίσταται δὲ νύκτος αἰανὴς κύκλος Τῇ λευκοπώλῳ φέγγος ἡμέρᾳ φλέγειν. The common reading is αἰανῆς, but Hermann and Wunder read αἰανὴς—whether rightly or not remains to be seen. Soph. Electr. 492: ὦ Πέλοπος ἁ πρόσθεν Πολύπονος ἱππεία, Ὡς ἔμολες αἰανὴς Τᾷδε γᾷ. The common reading is αἰανή, which Hermann preserves in his edition. Wunder reads αἰανής. Æsch. Eum. 394: Ἥμεις γὰρ ἔσμεν νυκτός αἰανῆς τέκνα. So Hermann, Schütz, Bothe, Burgess, Wellauer. Müller prefers the common reading αἰανή. *Ibid.* v. 457 : αἰανής νόσος. *Ibid.* v. 542 : ἐς τὸν αἰανῆ χρονόν. *Ibid.* v. 903 : μηδ' ἄκαρπος αἰανὴς ἐφερπέτω νόσος. Pers. 628 : αἰανῆ δύσθροα βάγματα. *Ibid.* v. 903 : αἰανὴν αὐδάν. From these passages, and their various readings, we see evident traces of another form, αἰανός. "Ac re verâ αἰανὴς et αἰανὸς idem esse, atque ex eâdem origine natum videtur, unde αἰνὸς est: quod nisi fallor ab αἰεὶ deductum primo diuturnum deinde diuturnitate molestum et grave, ideoque tædii plenum significabat." Herm. ad Soph. Aj. l. c. So in Eum. 542, it means 'diuturnus:' (its cognate adverb αἰανῶς is used in the same sense in v. 642 of the same play). On the other hand in Soph Electr. v. 492. Æsch. Eum. 457, 903. Pers. 628, 903, its signification will be found to be 'gravis,' 'molestus,' 'lachrymabilis.' But what does it denote in the passages from the Ajax of Sophocles and the Eumenides of Æschylus, v. 394? This we will proceed to consider. Suidas gives two explanations in the passage from the Ajax, viz. σκοτεινὸς and θρηνητικῆς. In the first he is supported by the Scholiast and Wunder, who says in his note thereon: "hoc loco manifestissimum vere Scholiastam αἰανὴς explicasse σκοτεινός. Nihilominus ingenue profiteor me nondum perspexisse quomodo tam diversæ significationes uni huic vocabulo attribui potuerint."

We are inclined to retain the vulgar reading, and we deny the inaptitude of Suidas's second interpretation. On the same principle that we find Night termed εὐφρόνη from its "nursing the tender thought to reason," so here it is very properly joined with the epithet αἰανῆς, for reasons which we will give in the words of Montgomery :—

Night is the time to weep,
  To wet with unseen tears
The graves of memory, where sleep
  The joys of other years:
Hopes that were angels in their birth,
But perished young like things on earth.

The same idea is to be found in an exquisite passage of Shakspeare:—

The gaudy, blabbing, and remorseful day
Has crept into the bosom of the sea:
And now loud howling wolves arouse the jades
That drag the *tragic melancholy* night.

II. Hen. VI. iv. 1.

Surely these two passages are sufficiently strong to vindicate the truth of the second explanation given by Suidas. In the Eumenides, if with Hermann we read *αἰανῆς*, the sense will be the same as that which we have illustrated in the Ajax: if with Müller *αἰανή*, translate as he does, "Wir sind der Urnacht grause (dreadful, dismal) Töchter." In the explanation of all poets, and especially of Sophocles, whose finest and most exquisite conceptions are generally conveyed in very nut-shells, commentators ought not to lose sight of æsthetical considerations. Some of his most difficult passages yet await a solution by these means.

PHILOLOGUS.

EMENDATION OF A PASSAGE IN THE HECUBA OF EURIPIDES, v. 1152 sqq. Edit. Herm.

Μηδὲν θρασύνου, μήδε τοῖς σαυτοῦ κακοῖς
τὸ θῆλυ συνθεὶς ὧδε πᾶν μέμψῃ γένος
πολλαὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσ' ἐπίφθονοι
αἱ δ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν τῶν κακῶν πεφύκαμεν.

Such is the common reading of the words in which the Chorus expostulates with Polymestor, who, in the preceding verses, had poured out an anathema upon the whole of womankind. We will first attempt to shew that one or other of the two last verses must necessarily be corrupt, and after mentioning some of the principal conjectures that have been proposed by commentators, will ourselves suggest an emendation, or at least a correction.

The word *ἐπίφθονος* occurs in four passages of Æschylus, and eight of Euripides, besides the one now in dispute (in the Iph. Aul. v. 333, it must be written separately, *πονήρον γλῶσσ' ἐπὶ φθόνον σοφή*). It does not, I think, occur at all in Sophocles. In the Agamemnon v. 125. Ed. Klausen, Calchas predicting from an omen that the Grecian army would incur the anger of Diana, says, *οἴκῳ γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἁγνά*, where

it is used in an active sense: "Diana is angry with, feels animosity against the family of the Atridæ." *Ibid.* v. 852: μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον Τίθει, "do not make my path the subject of envy, do not provoke envy or hatred by strewing garments in my path." Suppl. 198: ἐπίφθονον γενὸς "detestable." Eumen. 354: δόξαι τ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ὑπ' αἰθέρι σεμναῖ, τακομέναι κατὰ γᾶν μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι, ἡμετέραις ἔφοδοις μελανείμοσιν, ὀρχησμοῖς τ' ἐπιφθόνοις ποδός, which Müller thus translates: "Wann wir in schwarzen Umhüllungen nahn und zum Tanzreihn freudenlos der Fuss sich schwingt." Euripides Medea, v. 305: σόφη γὰρ οὖσα τοῖς μὲν εἰμ' ἐπίφθονος, τοῖς δ' αὖ προσάντες, "I am envied." *Ibid.* 529: ἐπίφθονος Λογὸς διελθεῖν ὡς Ἔρως σ' ἠνάγκασε, "I should incur odium by narrating," &c. Hippolytus 499: κοὐκ ἐπίφθονον τόδε, "this is not a thing which will provoke hatred." The passage in the Andromache is particularly apposite (v. 181): ἐπίφθονον τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ, "detestable." Suppl. 903: λυπηρὸς οὐκ ἦν, οὐδ' ἐπίφθονος πόλει, "nor hated by the citizens." Heraclid. v. 203: καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίφθονον Λίαν ἐπαινεῖν ἔστι, "provocative of envy, hatred." In the Troades, v. 735, and the *Rhesus Incert. Auct.* 330, it has the meaning of "detestable, disgraceful." Any one, we think, who considers these passages attentively, will come to the conclusion that the meaning of the word ἐπίφθονος in the passage under dispute, is indubitably, "deserving of hatred," "detestable." In that case the passage must necessarily be corrupt on account of the evident tautology. Schaefer indeed, on the strength of the passage in the Medea (v. 305), above cited, thinks the common reading sound, and interprets it "aliæ invidia premuntur cum sint innocentissimæ." But, as Hermann very justly remarks, "Quis hæc recte cum Hecubæ loco comparet? Ego vero cognoscere velim ubi tandem ἐπίφθονος per se simpliciter de eo dicatur qui virtute aliqua insignis, eoque invidendus sit." Instead of αἳ μὲν εἶσ' ἐπίφθονοι, Musgrave conjectured and Brunck received into the text οὐδὲν εἶσ' ἐπίφθονοι: Beck emended αἳ μὲν οὐκ ἐπίφθονοι. Hermann, with whom we agree, considers this verse sound. In the following verse Reiske proposed κάλων for κακῶν, to which Hermann objects, and with reason, that κάλη can only be applied to a woman in reference to her personal attractions. Porson, who had at first espoused Reiske's opinion, afterwards allowed that Hermann's remark thereon was not without weight, and adopted Musgrave's conjecture. Hermann reads ἀντάριθμοι τῶν κακῶν πέφυκαμεν, and interprets the whole passage in the following manner: "Multae enim nostrûm, aliæ quidem invidiâ laborant, aliæ vero e contraria parte æquamus numerum malorum." We leave our readers to form their own judgments upon these various emendations and interpretations, and proceed to propose a conjecture of our own. In the last line read

αἳ δ' εἷν ἀριθμῷ τῷ 'γαθῷ πεφύκαμεν.

He must be a great novice in the Greek tongue who is not acquainted

with the locutives ἐν ἀριθμῷ εἶναι, "to be in esteem:" the Latin word "numerus" has the same signification. (See Pauw's Greek Lexicon, under the word ἀριθμός). On the form εἶν, see Monk ad Alc. 448. Herm. Opusc. III. p. 150, Æsch. Suppl. 850. Translate, "some of us are worthy of hatred, others of esteem."

PHILOLOGUS.

ON A PASSAGE IN DEMOSTHENES' ORATION AGAINST TIMOCRATES.

THIS oration, though nominally directed against Timocrates, is in reality levelled at Androtion. Like that which bears the latter's name, it was written by Demosthenes for Diodorus, the personal enemy of Androtion; and who, in conjunction with Euctemon, was plaintiff in the suit against him, as well as in that against Timocrates.

In the common editions, § γ' (Reiske, Vol. I. p. 701, l. 17) of the speech against the latter opens with the following words: Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ δεῖ νῦν ὑμᾶς γνῶναι, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τις ἂν εἴποι, τοῦτ' ἐστιν. Here the words πρᾶγμα and ἐν κεφαλαίῳ must refer to some *summary* of the subject-matter of the action. None, however, has been given, nor has the orator yet stated anything more than what might have been learnt from the γραφή, or Bill of Indictment; namely, that he was about to accuse Timocrates of having introduced an inexpedient law. We may infer, then, that some such summary ought to have preceded this section.

This inference is still further confirmed by the following passage in the same section (701. 23. Reiske): Ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὦ Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προσέκρουσα ἀνθρώπῳ πονηρῷ καὶ φιλαπεχθήμονι καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῷ ᾧ τελευτῶσα προσέκρουσεν ἡ πόλις ὅλη, Ἀνδροτίωνα λέγω· καὶ τοσούτῳ δεινότερα Εὐκτήμονος ἠδικήθην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσθ', κ. τ. λ. Here the names of Androtion and Euctemon are introduced as if the court were already familiar with them, though they had not yet been uttered by the speaker. The suit is against Timocrates; and the judges may be supposed to have known no more of the two first-named persons than what the orator chose to communicate, and it is therefore almost impossible that he should have mentioned them in so abrupt a manner.

§ ε' (703. 7. 705. 8. Vol. I. Reiske) contains a short summary of the facts (τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τίς ἂν εἴποι). It explains how Euctemon informed against Archebius and Lusitheides in the affair of the Egyptian prize-money; how Androtion was one of the ambassadors on board their trireme when it captured the Egyptian merchant-man; how he, with the other two ambassadors, unlawfully retained the proceeds of the cargo; and finally, how Timocrates had proposed his law in order to shelter them. If this section, then, be placed before § γ', the

expression ἐν κεφαλαίῳ becomes intelligible; and the introduction of the names of Androtion and Euctemon is no longer abrupt, as the hearer has already been made acquainted with a part of their history.

But there is another and still stronger reason why § έ should be thus transferred. Let the reader turn to the beginning of § δ' (702. 21, Reiske), where he will find these words: Τοῦ δὲ πράγματος οὐκ ἔτι ὄντος ἀμφισβετησίμου. We are here met by the same difficulty as at the beginning of § γ', and naturally ask ourselves, what is the orator driving at? he has explained *no* affair. But in this case the difficulty is so much more apparent, that Wolf conjectured there was a *lacuna* in the text[1]. But if § ε' be transferred, as proposed, the difficulty vanishes, as in the former instance.

According to this arrangement then, § ε' will stand between § β' and § γ', whilst § ς' immediately follows § δ'. Let us see how this suits the *nexus* of the speech.

§ β' ends as follows: περὶ τοίνυν ἀυτοῦ τούτου νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ σκεπτέον, πότερον δεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους νόμους οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τὴν πόλιν ὑμεῖς ἀνεγράψατε ἀκύρους εἶναι τόνδε δὲ κύριον, ἢ τοὐναντίον τοῦτον μὲν λῦσαι κατὰ χώραν δὲ μένειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐᾶν (§ έ) Ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖν ἐν βραχέσι τὰ πραχθέντα δίειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα μᾶλλον μάθητε καὶ παρακολουθήσητε τοῖς περὶ τόν νόμον αὐτὸν ἀδικήμασι. Here everything proceeds in due order. § γ', after alluding briefly to the summary in § έ, proceeds to explain in a kind of parenthesis (from the words ἵνα δ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς θαυμάζῃ to the end of the section) the plaintiff's real motives in bringing this action against Timocrates[2]. After which the orator, in § β', again takes up the thread of his discourse by giving a short *resumé*, or abstract, of what he had said in § ε', in order to recal it to the hearer's mind after his digression, or parenthesis.

§ ς' (705. 8, Reiske) begins thus: Βούλομαι δὴ μικρὰ διεξελθὼν περὶ τῶν κειμένων νόμων καθ' οὓς εἰσιν αἱ τοιαίδε γραφαὶ, περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου λέγειν, ὃν γέγραμμαι. As the text now stands in the editions, the words αἱ τοιαίδε γραφαὶ can only refer to the γραφή mentioned in § ε', which is one brought by Androtion and the other ambassadors against Euctemon's *psephisma*. But it is plain from the words, περὶ αὐτοῦ τ οῦ νόμου, ὃν γέγραμμαι, as well as from the whole tenor of § ς', that the orator is not speaking about that, but of his own impeachment of the law of Timocrates[3]. If then, according to the proposed arrangement,

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[1] "Videntur quædam deesse. Hæc enim ex abrupto adduntur." Wolf *in Timoc.* Reiske, *Orat.* Vol. ix. p. 757.

[2] Such a *naïve* confession of private motives in a public action would at once ruin a man's cause in modern times. But such was Athens, where party-spirit ruled the day.

[3] Not to mention that if that were the antecedent to τοιαίδε it is at a very inconvenient distance.

§ δ′ immediately precede § ε′, we shall be supplied at once with the words to which *αἱ τοιαίδε γραφαί* refer, since it ends as follows:—
ὑπὲρ δὴ τούτων ἁπάντων λύσιν ταύτην εὑρίσκομεν οὖσαν μόνην, εἰ γραψάμενοι τὸν νόμον καὶ εἰσαγαγόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς, λῦσαι δυνηθείημεν.

It may, perhaps, be thought by some that the whole of § γ′ belongs properly to the oration against Androtion, since the words *ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος* occurring in it are quoted by Harpocration as from that oration. This, however, does not seem to be the case, as the word *ἦλθον ἐπ' αὐτόν* evidently shew that some former suit is alluded to; and these two orations are, from their intimate connexion, so frequently confounded by the grammarians, that no argument can be built upon that circumstance.

THOMAS DYER.

ÆSCHYLUS' EUMENIDES.

To the EDITOR *of the* CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

SIR, *Christ Church, Oxford, March* 7, 1844.

WILL you be good enough to insert for me a few MS. readings in the Eumenides, taken from the Wolfenbüttel Manuscript by the kindness of the Librarian, Dr. Schönemann? They are of but little importance in themselves, and are merely the readings of a few places respecting which I desired more accurate information than I could obtain from the existing collations. They arrived too late for insertion in my recent edition of the Eumenides; and are as follows:—

In v. 58. edit. meæ.....Guelf. habet *οὐδ' ἥτις γαῖα*
66. ..... *πέπων* nec aliter in margine.
103. ..... *καρδίᾳ σέθεν.*
216. ..... *κάρτασ*
225. ..... *κἀκκῦνηγετής.*
248. ..... *λεύσσετον*
259. ..... *καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνασ'*
413. ..... *ἔχει μύσος*
886. ..... *Ἐρινύς*, non *Ἐριννύς.*
922. .....*τάσδε γὰρ εὔφρανας εὔφρονες ἀεί.*

May I also be permitted through the same medium to request any one who may use my edition to correct an erratum which occurs in the note on v. 453? For "Flor. Venet. v. 439" read "Flor. Venet. v. 457." the verse which in those MSS. is placed after v. 453 being *ὅρκον περῶντας μηδὲν κ. τ. λ.*

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,
WILLIAM LINWOOD.

Conjectures upon some Passages in Justin Martyr.

To the Editor *of the* Classical Museum.

Sir,

Possibly the following conjectures upon Justin Martyr's short Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας may not be altogether without interest for some of your readers.

In § 2, we have,

Ὁ γὰρ μεγαλώνυμος ὑμῶν ὁ Λητοΐδης, ὁ μαντικὴν ἐπαγγειλάμενος, ἑαυτὸν ἤλεγξεν ὅτι ψεύδεται· Δάφνην ἐδίωκεν, ἣν οὐ κατέλαβε· καὶ τῷ ἐρομένῳ αὐτὸν Αἰακίδῃ σκεύοντι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον οὐκ ἐμαντεύσατο—

vv. ll. ἐδίωξεν—σκεύωντι—

Sylburg conjectures ἐρομένῳ αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν σκευωρούντων αὐτῷ θάνατον.

Maran (the Benedictine Editor) τῷ ἐρωμένῳ αὐτοῦ Ὑακίνθῳ, referring to Tatian § 8, Theophilus Antioch. § 1. 9, where Hyacinthus is in like manner mentioned along with Daphne.

Otto simply suggests θρησκεύοντι for σκεύοντι.

It appears almost certain that Maran's conjecture is right. These Fathers generally take the same ground: and the case of Hyacinthus suits the argument much better than that of Neoptolemus, who must be understood by *Æacides*. Nor is there any great improbability in the suppossition that AIAKI (in uncial letters) was written for YAKI. But it is strange that the fragment σκεύοντι should have been overlooked by Maran. Ought we not to read τῷ ἐρωμένῳ αὐτοῦ Ὑακίνθῳ δισκεύοντι? Supposing that it were written thus, YAKIΔICKEYONTI, we have at once, by an easy change, the corrupt reading AIAKIΔHICKEYONTI. Whether the story of the Hyacinth, as connected with the fate of Ajax, might have anything to do with the alteration, I cannot say.

In § 3, he speaks of the labours of Hercules,

ὄρνιθας ἀνδροβόρους ἱπθαμένας καθελεῖν ὁ δυνηθείς, καὶ κύνα τρικάρηνον ἐξ ᾅδου ἀναγαγών, Αὐγείου δ' ὀχυρὸν τεῖχος σκυβάλων καθελεῖν ὁ δυνηθείς.

The latter καθελεῖν seems as if it were intended to come from καθαίρω, not καθαιρέω. It must therefore be supposed to be a mistake of the transcriber, whose eye was caught by the καθελεῖν ὁ δυνηθείς just above.

Again, in the same section, the subjects of Tragedy are referred to: τὰ μὲν Ἀτρέως ἄγη, Θυέστου λέχη, καὶ Πελοπιδῶν μύση, καὶ Δαναὸν φθόνῳ φονεύοντα, καὶ ἀτεκνοῦντα μεμεθυσμένον.

Here Stephens, thinking that these last words must b story of Danaus, thinks that Αἴγυπτον should be inserted. need not belong to Danaus. The probable reading is Λαΐον τεκνον. μεμεθυσμένον. The first letter of Λαΐον alone remaining, adhered to the following word, with the slight change of A for Λ.

I am, Sir, etc. R. S.

Specimen of a Translation of Lycophron's Cassandra.

vv. 1—138.

Sire[1]! I will tell thee all thou ask'st me of,—
All from the first will faithfully declare.
And if the tale be long, be this the excuse,—
That not, as erst, reluctantly and shy,
Unlocks the Virgin's mouth its varied stores;
But in loud torrent from her labouring breast,
And lips that chew the laurel, pour such strains
As the dark Sphinx might deem herself had taught.
Of these whate'er my mind and memory hold
Thou, King! shalt hear;—and in thy pondering heart
Wilt weigh their bearing, scrutinize their drift,
Trace each perplexing coil; till, hid no more,
The unravell'd path shall stretch before thee plain.

Start I then onward; springing from the goal,
Like some fleet racer, from the barrier free,
O'er that wild maze of words my course to speed.
Now was Aurora o'er high Fagius' brow
Urging her steeds on Pegasèan wing,
Tithonus slumbering left on Cerne's isle,—
Thy kinsman he;—and now with ready hand
The sailors slipt the halsers from the rocks
Holding each galley fast, and joyous loosed
The anchors from the ground; and with hoised sail,
Swell'd by a blast from out the chilly North,
Phalacra's[2] daughters, storks upon the wave,
Their beaks and snowy pinions glancing far,
Beyond Calydne's isles, o'er Helle's grave
Plough'd the rude sea beneath their many feet[3];—

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[1] The *Speaker* is the keeper of Cassandra's prison, who reports to her father Priam the prophetic strains he had heard his daughter utter.

[2] *Phalacra*—one of the four summits of Ida, which furnished timber for the Trojan ships.

[3] *many feet*—the oars.

When from the Hill of Atê, heifer-trod,
The Maid prophetic waked the strain divine,
Pent in her breast,—and thus CASSANDRA sung.

Ah! wretched Motherland! to flames devote;—
First by that Lion[4], sprung of three nights' joys,
Whose crowding squadrons left his galleys' sides,
Rapine and death o'er all thy coasts to spread.—
Him though the sea-dog's jaws serrate ingulf'd,
And in his entrail-chambers captive held,
Till, cleft a passage through the monster's side,
He sprung to life again,—all unimpair'd,
Save that amid the heats of that pent home
Were shed the cresting terrors of his mane.
Scourge of my country! murderer he of babes;
Who even against the invulnerable breast
Of her, his second Mother[5], arm'd his hand,
Speeding the barbed dart;—and where its height
The tomb of earth-born Ischenus uprears,
Scaring the steeds that wheel by Saturn's Hill,
His Sire, the Wrestler[6], in his arms upheaved.
Her too, that Hound of Hell[7], obscene, he slew,
His oxen rescued from her ravening maw,
Where sits she near Ausonia's cavern'd strait,
Prowling amid the rocks that round her bark,
Like lioness, intent upon her prey—
Whom yet her father call'd to life again,
Quicken'd from out her ashes on the pyre,
Leptunis'[8] sway for ever to defy.
Such was the Victor;—till at length o'ercome
By poison'd wiles[9], and swordless, lifeless foe,
He sought the Shades saluted once before.

Again I see the conflagration rise,—
When hand Æacidine[10], and Tantalus' bones[11],
Spared from the pyre, and from Letrina borne,
With Teutarus the herdsman's shafts[12] conjoin
To work thy ruin, and thy second fall:—

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[4] *that Lion*—Hercules.
[5] *second Mother*—Juno.
[6] *the Wrestler*—Jove.
[7] *Hound of Hell*—Scylla.
[8] *Leptunis*—Hecate.
[9] *poison'd wiles*—of Nessus, the Centaur.
[10] *hand Æacidine*—Pyrrhus, son of Achilles.
[11] *Tantalus bones*—those of Pelops.
[12] *herdsman's shafts*—the arrows of Hercules, who was taught archery by Teutarus.

All consummate by the indignant wife[13],
When her false lord a foreign bride shall woo,
And by a father's taunts to frenzy stung,
Herself shall speed the Traitor on his way.
Then see her scan her husband's grisly wound,
A wound she knows beyond her art to heal,
Dealt by the foeman's hand, winging the shafts,
The giant-slayers;—and in mad despair
Behold her mount the tower, whence headlong plunging,
Resolved to be his partner even in death,
Her arms around the quivering corpse she throws,
And on the lips she loved exhales her soul!

I weep thee, O my country!—fated still,
Once and again, before a hostile spear
To see thy stately palaces o'erthrown,
Rifled and sack'd, and smouldering 'mid the flames.
Again I weep thee,—and thine ancient tombs
Levelled to earth;—like his, Electra's son[14],—
That pristine mariner, whose arms enclasp'd
The buoyant skins to waft him o'er the wave,
Like Ister's boar, steering his lonely voyage;
Or like Rithymnian coot, cleaving its flight
From dark Zerinthus' cave, fell Hecate's haunt,
To Saos' cliff, the Corybantine hold.—
Such voyage was his, what time the waters rose
O'er the high mountains, and the heavens let loose
Their bickering torrents; and the works of men,
Their towers and palaces, in ruin fell,
Swept from their footing;—their sad habitants
Struggling around them, death before their eyes;—
By amorous seals their beds now tenanted,
While dolphins learnt to crop the mellow grape,
And fruits and acorns were the whales' repast.

Lo! where yon Griffin[15] speeds on swiftest wing,
To bear away the shameless Dove[16], accurst,
Sprung from the Water-vulture's[17] amorous play,
That left the rounded shelling egg behind.
By thee, thou timorous voyager on the deep,
No longer shall be trod on Ida's side

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[13] *indignant wife*—Œnone, wife of Paris.

[14] *Electra's son*—Dardanus

[15] *yon Griffin*—Paris.

[16] *shameless dove*—Helen.

[17] *Water-vulture*—Leda's Swan.

Thy custom'd path, by sloppering oxen stain'd,
Leading thy feet to thy paternal stalls,
Where once thou satt'st the umpire of the Three,—
But the road rounding Acherusia's steep;
And past the Ass's Jaws and Laas' walls
Thy course pursued—thy hand no longer fill'd
By shepherd's oar[18], nor rising on thy view
The penns and fodder'd stalls thy care supplied;
While borne afar on Phereclean[19] keel,
The Double-Doors shall greet thine anxious eye,
And Gythium's port; where dropt its anchoring tooth,
Steady at length from out the hurrying tide,
Rides thy lone bark, its mid-sea tossings o'er.
Thence wolf-like thou, exulting ravisher!
Beyond Scandea and the Ægilian point
Wilt bear the Heifer[20] with thee, nothing loath,
Though reft of young, and by the altar's flame
Upon the beach the chosen firstlings left,
To Ocean's nymphs and sad Leucothea due;
Yet eager closing with the feathery toils,
And second nets of foreign paramour.

But short thy loves, in Acte's Dragon isle[21],
That own'd the earth-sprung biform Monarch's[22] sway;
Upon thy joys no second morn to dawn,
The partner of thy bed a Spectre cold,
Baulking thine arms, like unsubstantial dream,
Thy best embraces wasted on a shade.
So will he flout thee,—he, Torone's mate[23],
From Phlegra's plains, o'er whose unchanging cheek
Nor tears are seen to fall, nor smiles to play;—
Such his resolve; who erst from gelid Thrace,
No keel to waft him to the wish'd-for strand,
Impatient flying from the wrestler-strife
Waged by his sons 'mid hapless strangers' blood,
To Nile-plough'd Egypt's shores his passage bored,
Like mole advancing on his trackless path
Beneath the wave, through windings cavernous;—
Till, not in vain his Ocean-sire implored,
Once more his native soil the wanderer trod,
Far from Pallene's giant-rearing plains.

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[18] *shepherd's oar*—i. e. crook.

[19] *Phereclean keel*— ships built by Pherecles.

[20] *the Heifer*—Helen.

[21] *Acte's isle*—Salamis.

[22] *biform Monarch*—Erichthonius.

[23] *Torone's mate*—Proteus.

Ay, he will flout thee, and thy baseness show,
Another Guneus, minister of right,
Priest of the Sun's Ichnæan daughter, She
Who holds the scales, then drive thee, Lecher! forth
From those fond clipping arms around thee thrown—
Thou whom no dread of outraged Heaven could move,
Or shield from foulest wrong the worshippers,
Bending at Lycus' and Chimæreus' tomb,
Nor Antheus' loves; no, nor that fellow-guest,
At stranger board the stranger's best defence,
The pure sea-Salt, holy and sacred pledge;
Even that, and every hospitable bond,
And every tie, or human, or divine,
Thy matchless perfidy o'erleaping all,
Justice uprooted, trod upon, despised,—
Shall show thee worthy of thine ursine nurse.

R. A. S.

SPECIMEN OF A NEW TRANSLATION OF VIRGIL'S ÆNEID.
By DR. JAMES HENRY. (I. 625—780.)

WHILE thus, in wildering thought, abstract he stood
Still gazing, to the temple Dido came
On foot, in radiant beauty, by a crowd
Of noble youths escorted: on the bank
Of famed Eurotas so, or Cynthus' heights, 630
Amid her circling choir of Oreads, sports
Quivered Diana, and o'ertops them all,
While, through Latona's heart, thrills silently
A mother's joy: so lovely, Dido looked;
Amid th' attendant crowds so graceful walked 635
In joyous dignity, surveying all
Her infant realm and city rising round:
The temple then she enters, and her seat
Taking upon a throne, beneath the dome
High raised, and round with men-at-arms begirt, 640
Justice and laws dispenses; and to all,
Apportioned, or by lot, assigns their tasks
Several; when to the temple see approach,
By concourse vast accompanied, Antheus,
Sergestus, brave Cloanthus, and the chiefs 645
Whom, to far distant shores, the storm so late
Had wide dispersed. Joy fills Æneas' heart,

Mingling with fear; their friendly hands in his
Joy bids him clasp, but fear, cautious, forbids,
Uncertain yet the issue; motionless, 650
Therefore, he stands, in cloudy darkness mantled,
He and Achates, and conjectures much
His friends' adventures; where their ships they left,
And why they come; for chosen men they were,
Each vessel representing, and by crowds 655
Of shouting Tyrians, to the temple, came
Surrounded, the queen's clemency to sue.

Admitted now, and leave obtained to speak,
Thus, with composed aspect, Ilioneus
Placid began:—"Great queen! by Jove ordained 660
To found a city, and proud nations rule
With just dominion, hear our humble prayer,
And from our ships avert the threatened flames.
O spare us Trojans! spare a pious race,
After long wanderings, on thy coasts at last 665
Cast by the stormy winds and boisterous sea!
Think not we aimed at plunder, or your hearths
With hostile fire and sword to desolate;
For such high enterprise, nor energy
Have we, nor strength; unhappy, exiled sons 670
Of conquered Troy. A land there is, which Greeks
Hesperia call, once by th' Œnotrian race
Inhabited, an ancient, fertile land,
Powerful in arms, and, from their leader's name,
Called, by its present children, Italy: 675
As thitherward we steered, Orion, wrapt
In clouds and storms, arose, and the wild South
Upon our vessels bursting, these on rocks
Hidden, dashed headlong, on false quicksands those,
Until the envious waves o'ermastered all 680
Our gallant fleet; escaping to your shores,
We, few, have landed; but what shores, what land,
What savage people this, which disallows
To shipwrecked mariners its sheltering strand?
As enemies ye treat us, and forbid 685
On your seabord to rest our weary limbs:
If man ye spurn, nor fear his just revenge,
Yet recollect that Gods there are above,
Who keep a strict account of right and wrong.
A prince we boasted once, more pious none 690

Lived under cope of heaven, for justice more,
Or deeds of arms, renowned: him if the Fates
Preserve still living, nor his eyes yet sealed
In night eternal, we have nought to fear;
And much thou mayest rejoice, some time, that thou,
Granting our prayer, hast of Eneas taken, 696
In kindly offices, the fore-advantage:
A welcome waits us too in Sicily's
Cities and plains, where, of our Trojan blood,
The good Acestes rules, illustrious: 700
We ask but to refit our shattered fleet,
Some planks, some oars here in your woods to cut;
Then with our missing ships, perhaps, and prince
Recovered happily, our course pursue
To Italy and Latium; but if lost 705
Is our best hope, and with thy son, o'erwhelmed
In Libya's sea, thou liest, O mighty stay
Of Troy's unhappy fortunes! then we bend
Towards the Sicanian streights our backward course;
There seek our country, in Acestes there 710
Our benefactor seek, and future king."
He ceased, and loud his Dardan followers all
Murmured assent. With modest eye abased,
Dido, in few, replies:—"Dismiss your fears,
Your anxious cares dismiss, ye sons of Troy: 715
A stern necessity compels me use
This strict precaution, and, with frontier guards,
My empire's tender infancy surround.
Of the Eneadæ who hath not heard?
Of Troy? its race of heroes, and its war 720
Disastrous? Not to pity's call quite deaf
Our Carthaginian hearts, nor so remote
From this our Tyrian city doth the sun
His morning course begin; whether ye seek
Famous Hesperia and old Saturn's plains, 725
Or Eryx' territory and the good
Acestes, safe ye are while here, and safe,
With all my furthering aid, ye shall pursue
Your onward voyage: if to settle here
Ye rather choose, high on our Libyan strand 730
Draw up your ships, and our new city share,
Trojan with Tyrian joined, one family:
And much I wish the same tempestuous South

Had hither driven Eneas, whom to seek,
Through all my coasts and Libya's confines round 735
I will send envoys, lest perhaps, escaped
The sea, in mountain or wild wood he strays.

Cheered by these courteous words, Achates now
And sire Eneas from th' insphering cloud
Burn to break forth, and first Achates said:— 740
"What think'st thou, goddess-born? all seems secure;
Thy fleet, thy friends recovered; one alone
Missing, whom in the yawning sea engulfed
We saw: in all things else thy mother's words
Stand verified." He said, and suddenly 745
Into thin air the opening cloud dissolved,
And forth Eneas stood, his face and bust
In brilliant light refulgent, like a God;
For Venus' self had breathed upon his hair
In graceful curls down flowing, and the light 750
Of rosy youth into his eyes infused,
And glowing cheeks: like polished ivory,

Line 752.

——— like polished ivory
Dazzling he stood, or silver, or the stone
Of Paros, chased in yellow rim of gold.

Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum, Pariusve lapis, circumdatur auro.

The celebrated couplet, in which Thomson, speaking of Lavinia's lover, says,

"He saw her charming, but he saw not half
The charms her downcast modesty concealed,"

is not inapplicable to the commentators and translators of this passage, who have seen but half its charms, the other half lying hid behind the slight shading of Virgil's most delicate pencil. Let us follow the traces which lead to the retreat of the concealed beauty. Virgil never uses a word which is unnecessary, or which has not an appropriate meaning and object; but in the passage before us, he applies to *gold* the adjunct *yellow*, which is wholly useless unless it is emphatic, and something more is meant than appears at first sight. That it is emphatic, and that something more is meant than appears at first sight, the reader, I think, will be satisfied, on a review of the whole simile. Eneas, whom Venus has adorned with a fine flowing head of hair, and an unusual brilliancy and beauty of countenance, is compared first to an ivory image to which the hands of the artist have given the highest degree of polish—the ivory representing the person of Eneas, and the polish the beauty superadded by Venus; secondly, to a piece of wrought silver, or Parian marble, chased or framed in *yellow* gold—the silver or Parian marble being the resplendent face and bust of Eneas, and the *yellow rim, or frame, of gold*, being *the profusion of yellow hair, in which his face and bust seemed to be, as it were, set.*

This interpretation of the passage (probable, even if there were no further evidence of Eneas's hair having been yellow, than is supplied by the passage itself, and by the universal sentiment of poetical antiquity, that yellow hair, *flavi* crines, *flava* coma, was indispensable to beauty, whether male or female) is strongly confirmed, I might almost say demonstratively proved, by the parallel simile in

Dazzling he stood, or silver, or the stone
Of Paros, chased in yellow rim of gold;
And thus the queen, and wondering crowd, addressed:—
"Him whom ye seek, Trojan Eneas, see 756
In safety, rescued from the Libyan waves!
O thou! whom sole the woes of Troy have touched
With gentle pity, who thy homes and hearths
Wouldst share with us, the miserable wreck 760
Which Grecian swords have spared, and stormy seas;
Nor I Eneas, nor unanimous Troy,
O'er the terraqueous globe now wide dispersed,
May thank thee, gracious Dido, worthily:
The Gods, if Gods there be who show respect 765
To human virtue, the great Gods above,
And thine own conscious rectitude, shall pay
Our heavy debt. Happy the age that bore,
The parents happy that such goodness bred!
Long as the river to the sea shall run, 770
And the slow mountain shadow o'er the vale
Glide punctual, long as the nutrient sky
Shall feed the stars, so long thy glorious name,
Honor, and praise shall last, what land soe'er,

---

the fourth book, in which it cannot be doubted that Eneas's hair is compared to the yellow or golden hair, and even to the actual gold in the hair of Apollo himself. *Qualis, ubi.....Apollo.....fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat AURO.* l. 143-148.

Line 771.

And the slow mountain shadow, o'er the vale
Glide punctual ———

——— *Dum montibus umbræ*
Lustrabunt convexa ———

The structure of this passage, about which the commentators have given themselves so much trouble, and the meaning of which the translators have so entirely mistaken, is simply, *dum montes lustrabunt umbris convexa; montibus umbræ* being used, according to Virgil's favorite figure, (see note on the words *conscendi navibus æquor*, l. 481,) for *montes umbris.* The meaning is, *so long as the mountain shall periodically lustrate, or slowly traverse, the valley with its shadow.* I have endeavoured to express in the translation not only the gradual motion of the shadow, but its periodic return; the idea of periodicity, being included, if not in the word *lustrat*, at least in the sentence, for the poet speaks not of a *continuing* shadow, but of one which *continually returns.*

Line 774.

——— what land soe'er,
What fated haven of rest, Eneas calls.
Quæ me cunque vocant terræ.

Eneas does not mean, as Heyne and Wagner would have us believe, that wherever he goes he will by his praises render Dido's fame immortal; still less does he intend the commonplace compliment which Dryden finds in his words:—

"Whate'er abode my fortune has assigned,
Your image shall be present in my mind."

His nobler meaning is, *no matter whither*

What fated haven of rest, Eneas calls." 775
He said, and with his right hand, greeting, caught
Ilioneus, Serestus with his left;
Then salutation like to Gyas gave,
And brave Cloanthus, and the other chiefs.

X.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

De Græcæ Linguæ Dialectis, scripsit Henricus Ludolfus Ahrens. 2 vols. 8vo. Gottingæ, 1839 & 1843. (London, Williams and Norgate.)

The author of this work is a disciple of Prof. Boeckh, to whom the first volume is dedicated. The first volume contains an account of the Æolic and Pseudæolic dialects. Under the former head, Mr. Ahrens arranges the language of the Æolians of Asia Minor, the Bœotians, and the Thessalians; under the latter, he places the dialects of the Eleans, the Arcadians, and some other states of the Peloponnese and northern Greece. The principal authorities for the pure Æolic dialects of Asia Minor, are the remains of Alcæus and Sappho, with some fragments of Lesbian inscriptions, and some notices of the grammarians. For the Bœotian dialect, his chief sources are the Bœotian inscriptions, the scene with the Bœotian countryman in the Acharnians of Aristophanes, the scanty remnants of Corinna, and the testimonies of grammarians: of the Thessalian dialect scarcely anything is known beyond what can be gleaned from a few brief inscriptions. The remains of the Elean and Arcadian dialects are likewise inconsiderable, being confined to a few inscriptions. To his first volume, Mr. Ahrens has appended a collection of the fragments of Alcæus and Sappho, the two Idyls of Theocritus (xxviii and xxix), written in the Æolic dialect, the fragments of Corinna, and the celebrated Elean inscription, containing the treaty with the Heræans.

I may be called, no matter what becomes of me, your fame will last as long as the world itself. The reader will also recognise in the words, *quæ me cunque vocant terræ*, (*vocant* being in the indicative, not in the subjunctive mood), a polite and graceful intimation, in answer to Dido's invitation, (l. 572, of the original), that Eneas's duty leads him away from Carthage.

The second volume (which consists of 586 pages) is devoted to the Doric dialect. The sources of information for the several Doric states are enumerated with great care: the inscriptions here form an important head; and the following authorities in the writings of the ancients are mentioned. For the *Laconian* dialect, the remains of Alcman (not quite pure), the decree of the Spartans in Thucyd. v. 77, and the dialogue of the Lacedæmonians in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes; (the epistle of Chilon, in Diog. Laert. i. 73, and the decree against Timotheus, are spurious). For the *Argive* dialect, we have the treaty in Thuc. v. 79; for the *Corinthian*, the spurious epistles of Periander in Diog. Laert. i. 99, 100, are of some service; the *Megarian* dialect is represented by Aristophanes in the Acharnians; the decree of the *Byzantians* in Demosth. *de Corona*, § 90, appears to be considered by Ahrens as of no better authority than the Attic decrees in this oration. For the Doric dialects of *Sicily*, there are the remains of Epicharmus and Sophron, and some of the writings of Archimedes; the language of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, is, according to Ahrens, not Syracusan, but an arbitrary mixture of various Doric dialects with Lesbian and epic forms. The chief authorities for the Doric dialect of *Lower Italy* are the numerous extant remains of the Pythagorean philosophers. All these, however (including the work of Timæus the Locrian on the Soul of the World, and the fragments of Archytas and others preserved in Stobæus and Latin writers, together with the Pythagorean epistles), are, with the single exception of the fragments of Philolaus, regarded by Ahrens as spurious. For the dialect of the *Rhodians* there are the fragments of Timocreon, and the song of the Rhodian children in Athenæus; also the spurious epistle of Cleobulus in Diog. Laert. i. 93. Of the *Cretan* and *Cyrenean* dialects there are no literary remains, except some forged epistles attributed to Epimenides and Aristippus. Pindar and the other lyric poets, and in part the choral songs of the tragedies, used a softened Doric, and also tempered it with the Lesbian and epic dialects.

The detailed account of the peculiarities of the Doric dialect is followed by a general characteristic of it, and by a specification of its varieties in the several Doric states, after the plan followed by Müller in his 'Dissertation on the Doric Dialect,' subjoined to his work on the Dorians.

The Appendix to Vol. II. contains a collection of the numerous fragments of Epicharmus and Sophron, and the few remains of Timocreon of Rhodes; the Swallow-song of the Rhodian children (more correctly edited in Bergk's *Poetæ Lyrici*), the Spartan and Argive treatises in Thucydides, some fragments of the Laconian dialect, and the decree of the Amphictyons in Boeckh, *Corp. Inscript.* No. 1688

This work contains by far the most convenient and complete body of information on the Æolic and Doric dialects of the Greek language; and being written in Latin, is accessible to all scholars.

The ENKHEIRIDION of HEHFAISTION concerning Metres and Poems. Translated into English, and illustrated by Notes and a Rythmical Notation; with Prolegomena on Rythm and Accent. By Thomas Foster Barham, M.B., formerly of Queens' College, Cambridge, Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London. Cambridge, 1843.

THE idea of translating and popularising Hephæstion is certainly a strange one,—hardly, in our opinion, a wise one. The present translator indeed puts the case very favourably for himself thus: "It has appeared to me that this Encheiridion being extremely methodical, elegant, and compendious, as well as of paramount authority, and carrying the student at once to the fountain-head both of our knowledge and phraseology on this subject, deserves not only to be more read than it is, but to become our educational class-book in this department." But will all who have read this old metrical treatise be disposed to agree in this judgment? If instead of "extremely methodical, elegant, and compendious," we write "extremely meagre, barren, and unsatisfactory," are we not much nearer the honest expression of what many have felt in rising from the perusal of this book? People may excuse it as they please; but the fact is, by isolating his subject altogether from the plastic, informing principle of musical rhythm, and confining himself to the dry detail of syllabic sequence in poetry, Hephæstion has rendered his treatise not only arid and uninteresting as a whole, but unsatisfactory and unintelligible in many of the details. The Encheiridion is a valuable book, no doubt; every thorough scholar will read it once, and ten times (for it is happily very short); but its value arises more from its antiquity than from its excellence; and for educational purposes in modern times, or indeed in any times, it is most peculiarly unfit.

So far, therefore, in our opinion, Mr. Barham's labour of love in clothing the Alexandrine metrician in an English dress, is a fond mistake; but the work is not on that account useless, nor unworthy the attention of scholars. Unnecessary as it certainly was to transfer into English the bald Greek of such a concise technical syllabus, it cannot be deemed uninteresting to listen to the rhythmical speculations of a modern scholar who has approached his subject lovingly, and not without a vocation. Mr. Barham's "Prolegomena on Rhythm," though not for a moment to be compared with the luminous exposition in

Boeckh's introduction to Pindar, contain much that is both ingenious and true, and which no persons instructed in the rudiments of these matters would like to leave unread. This is all we can afford to say at present. Metres are a theme that admit not of summary, and we have no space here for comprehensive, treatment; and, after all that can be said on many disputed points, we suspect, that unless some old Ῥυθμοποιός shall rise from the grave to teach us the theory by the practice, the music of Greek verse will be elicited, in many cases, more certainly from the living instinct of the modern ear than from the dead letter of an ancient grammarian.

TEXTRINUM ANTIQUORUM; an Account of the Art of Weaving among the Ancients. Part I., on the Raw Materials. By James Yates, M. A. Taylor and Walton, London, 1843.

AT present the chief clothing of the world is cotton. It is grown alike in the East and in the West; and each year produces a greater quantity than the last. Trade breaks down many of the natural boundaries by which the habits of nations used to be separated. We may now see the people of one quarter of the globe wearing cotton cloth which has been woven in a second quarter, from cotton grown in a third. But it was not so always. In times not beyond the reach of history, each nation was clothed from the growth of its own soil. The Chinese, rich and poor, were clothed in silk; the people of India in cotton; Egypt in linen; the south of Europe, with Asia Minor, Arabia, and Persia in sheep or goat's wool. How could it be much otherwise? Cotton will not grow in Europe; and our mutton-eating people were not likely to be slow in finding out the warmth of a fleece. On the other hand the rice-eaters, even if their climate made them wish for the warmth of wool, and their soil afforded pasture for sheep, would find it rather costly to rear them for their fleeces only.

Arcadia was early celebrated for its flocks of goats; sheep, as being more tender, were less common. Ranging over the high lands of the centre of the Morea, the goats were kept from wandering away from the flock by the music of the herdsman's pipe. Arcadian ingenuity had not yet soared so high as the invention of the bell-weather's bell; and to this simplicity we seem to owe the pastoral poetry which has ennobled the Doric muse; she has been silent since the invention of the sheep-bell. From the Arcadian fleeces the mind naturally passes to the pastoral poetry; and by his admiration for the writings of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, Mr. Yates is led to praise rather highly the political institutions of the Arcadians.

Silk was a material always as highly prized by the ancients as it is

now by the moderns; but with its growth and nature they were very little acquainted. The learned Propertius thought it the growth of Arabia, because it was brought by the Arabic traders to Alexandria. Dionysius of Alexandria, the author of the geographical Periegesis, and head of the Museum under Trajan, who should have been well informed, as being foreign secretary to the præfect of Egypt, says that the Seres combed the silk out of the flowers of the desert. Other poets are content to call it the Coan web, from the island of Cos, where a silk-manufactory was established in the time of Aristotle. The luxury of the Egyptian ladies had introduced a thin tight dress, which showed the limbs in a way which neither our climate nor our notions of propriety would allow, and this silk was much valued; and Pamphila of the island of Cos has the glory of having woven a cloth so transparent that women were enabled to display their limbs by means of their clothing. With any dress thicker or warmer the ladies affected to be overheated; and hence Pagan philosophers and Christians, Seneca, Clemens, and Tertullian, agree that no modest woman should wear silk. Many however thus indulged their bad taste and want of modesty who could not afford the expense of a silk dress; and an equally transparent cloth was woven out of the delicate wool of Tarentum, shorn from sheep that grazed the fields in jackets. Nor were these gauzes wholly confined to the women. In the luxurious court of Alexandria there were certain days in which the men frequented the temples in the same dresses. The Platonic philosopher Demetrius, in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes, who had before earned the king's displeasure by being a water-drinker, was threatened with a severe punishment for being seen at the feast of Bacchus in too thick a garment; and he only escaped by making himself drunk publicly in the sight of the whole court of Alexandria, and dancing with cymbals in a loose dress of this Tarentine gauze.

Few inquiries have been more curious than that into the nature of the cloth in which the Egyptians wrapt their mummies. The Greek writers agree in telling us that it was linen; the priests wore linen; and every thing sacred was wrapt in linen; "For linen is the righteousness of saints." But for a long time modern writers had agreed to disbelieve the early accounts, and so think it cotton. The mummy-cloths are still in being, and in good preservation; but on being examined they did not remove the doubt. Strange to say, opinions differed; though most thought them cotton, against every testimony in history; and it is only after a most curious and scientific examination by the microscope into the structure and surface of the two fibres, that mummy-cloth has at last been proved to be linen.

India was the country of cotton. Herodotus tells us that the trees in that country, instead of fruit, bore fleeces which surpassed those of

the sheep in beauty; and this was confirmed by the men of science in Alexander's expedition. Before the time of Alexander it was unknown in Europe, and scarce in Egypt. The woven pad, however, worn by Amasis, king of Egypt, as a breast-plate, was made of cotton, with the magical number of 365 fibres in each thread. This is the earliest mention of cotton in history, and six centuries after the death of Amasis, this breast-plate was shown in the temple of Minerva, in Rhodes, as a sacred relic and curiosity.

In giving an account of the ancient clothing materials, Mr. Yates has thrown great light on numerous passages in the Greek and Latin authors, in which we meet with words or thoughts that are only to be explained by a knowledge of these branches of trade; and not a few passages on their mythology. Mr. Yates very happily identifies the god Pan with a figure, not uncommon on the vases and bas-reliefs, of a man with two horns and goat's feet, *αἰγοποδής, δικέρως*, as he is called in the Homeric hymn. This figure is usually called a satyr; but our author very satisfactorily shows that it is the *Pan deus Arcadiæ* of Virgil, and likewise the *Cornipes Faunus* of Ovid. The words Pan and Faun are of course the same.

The determinations of the geographical position of Serica, the country of the Seres, from whom the ancients obtained their silk, is of considerable importance. We usually call it China, but with very little probability. Mr. Yates thinks it may have been part of Bucharia. At any rate it was far to the west of China, as Palladius places it on this side of the Ganges, and Moses, bishop of Adule, travelled there from Ethiopia. On the decline of the Egyptian trade, Constantinople was supplied with silk by the Persians; and Serica seems to have been in their neighbourhood. We remark that in the fifth century the *murex* was no longer supposed to be the source of the famed Tyrian scarlet, it was discovered to be cochineal; the cloth is no longer *Tyrio bis murice tinctus*, but dyed *bis coctis blattis*.

The words explained throughout the volume are numerous and interesting. As an example we would mention, *oves pellitæ*, sheep wrapt in jackets to make their fleeces fine; *lanæ coactæ*, felt; *συκάμινος*, the black mulberry; *byssus*, flax, not cotton.

The plates to the volume are beautifully executed from well-chosen subjects; and the whole work is the result of as much learned industry as good sense and taste. We find no fault in it, but that the modesty of the author has made him not see that it deserved and wanted a copious index, which deficiency we hope to see remedied when the work is completed.

S. S.

OBSERVATIONS occasioned by some part of Mr. AINSWORTH'S ILLUSTRATIONS of the RETREAT of the TEN THOUSAND.

EVERY thing which relates to the Anabasis of Xenophon is doubly interesting; first, on account of the interest of the expedition and retreat, as matters of history (and, it may be added, of geography), and secondly, on account of the great merit of the book itself. All the works of Xenophon are valuable, but this has the particular praise of being the most accurate original account of military marches and operations that any ancient author has left us. But we must not fancy it more accurate, or at least more complete, than it really is. Many things are omitted; and geographical information as such, especially as distinct from topography, seems to have been no part of the object of the writer. In the march itself he seems to have been but little in the secrets of the geographical department, and in general not to have known why the army marched one way or another.

From the exactness to which the greater part of the route is brought by the valuable illustrations of Mr. Ainsworth, the strange wandering, or excursion, towards and into the modern Georgia, for 200 or 300 miles, appears only the more remarkable. The wrong notions as to the longitude of the east end of the Black Sea, and the probable fact, that the Araxes really was called Phasis, have been pointed out.

I see no reason to doubt that they at first believed this to be the Phasis which falls into the Black Sea. Herodotus says, that its mouth is in the easternmost part of that sea (IV. 38. 80), and that the coast runs N. and S. from its mouth, which is nearly saying, that the course of the river is from E. to W., but not positively. Its head at least might have a very different direction. The Araxes, as Herodotus states, runs S. E. (IV. 40), but into the Caspian, and their notions of longitude prevented them at first from thinking of the Araxes as at all within their line. It is a more important river than the Phasis; but the Greeks had a more important idea of the Phasis than it deserves (Œd. Tyr. v. 1227). They seem to have gone along it (παρὰ) for 105 miles (IV. 6. § 4). And we may suppose they left it, when they found it so perseveringly continue an easterly course, that it could not possibly be the Phasis they supposed. How it came to be only a quarter as wide (*ubi sup.*) as the Harpasus, which falls into it (IV. 7. § 18) is rather inexplicable, unless we suppose its width to be taken where they first came to it, and not where they left it.

To get to the Black Sea was not their only object. The fault found with the guide, whose departure seems to have partly led to this wandering, was that he did not take them to *villages*. They had lately suffered severely from the want of every thing, in snow and intense cold. And their week's holidays since (*secura sub altâ otia agunt*

terrâ), immediately before the wandering commenced, only made them the less disposed, in January, to encounter a cold and ill-provided country again. The soldiers' feelings, on such a march, probably influenced the general. It is very remarkable, that the cold and snow, so minutely described, and on several distinct days, are confined, as the geography is now understood, almost exactly to the basin of the Euphrates. The level of that valley, Mr. Ainsworth tells us, is about 4000 feet. Though they often cross high mountains afterwards, no more snow or frost is complained of. This can hardly be an accidental omission, after so much had been said of it before. The season would not account for the difference altogether, since, according to the received chronology, the whole journey to the sea was finished within February. As they must have passed through the valley of Erz-Rûm (5500 feet level), or else over still higher grounds, after their return from the wandering in Georgia, it is extraordinary that they should not there again have met with snow, which falls sometimes even in July, and lies in the beginning of June in the easiest road from thence to Trebizond (Tournefort). But in the basin of the Araxes, at least, they would find, I apprehend, a much better climate than they had felt near the Euphrates. Three hours west of Erivan, and not quite down upon the river, rice, cotton, melons, and vines, are produced (Tournefort). They must have approached within thirty miles of this at least. At Teflis, in the corresponding basin of the Kur (into which basin, according to Mr. Ainsworth, they also penetrated some way), they reap in the end of July, when at Erz-Rûm they reap in September (Ib.) For the sake of this climate, I imagine, they lingered in that part of the country longer than the interests of the expedition might otherwise have required.

It is very remarkable, that not a word in Xenophon admits that they ever went out of their way at all. If it were not for the extrinsic information which geography furnishes, his reader would be at liberty to suppose that they went nearly or quite straight from the Euphrates to the sea. He tells us of no bearings, after the snow; which it seems was driven in their faces by the βορρᾶς ἀνέμου (IV. 5. § 3).

I wish to observe, with regard to other parts of Mr. Ainsworth's article, that Major Rennell was no scholar; and, that γήλοφος cannot, by the force of its etymology, denote a mound, since in a passage afterwards quoted it is applied to natural hills.

C. B.

SOPHOKLES TRAGÖDIEN von F. K. G. Stäger. Urschrift und Uebersetzung. 2 Bde. Halle, 1841, 2 vols. 8vo. (London, Williams and Norgate).

To a very large class this will be a valuable book. Mr. Stäger is unfortunately no poet; and his attempt therefore to render the elaborate chastened style of Sophocles has not altogether succeeded. But to this very poetical deficiency we perhaps owe the great merit of the translation: its exactness. If Stäger is not a poet, he is not a wordy and ambitious versifyer believing himself capable of 'improving' Sophocles. It is his misfortune that he has not the 'mens divinior;' it is our misfortune that Francklin, Potter, Woodhall, *et id omne genus,* had no more, believing they had much. They produced works which disgrace our literature. Stäger has produced a work of considerable utility; his superiority over others arises from his resolute adherence to the original. This quality, added to a more perfect command of language and rhythm, would have made his translation a model. With all its artistic deficiencies, however, we can cordially recommend it. Being accompanied with the Greek text, it supplies, with those who understand German, the place of the Latin versions usually printed 'en regard,' which owing to the nature of Latin, are very inadequate, and useful only as suggesting the meaning, order of construction, &c. Stäger's translation not only does this, but generally solves the difficulties. A great deal of investigation is often included in his unpretending lines of translation. The book itself is perfectly unpretending; published without preface, note, or comment, it really looks as if the author meant, as we said, to supply the feeble Latin versions so constantly republished. We have compared the translation rather largely, and we have found it superior in point of accuracy to any we have seen. It only wants a better Greek type, to make it a very desirable work.

DISCOVERIES OF GREEK MSS.

THE *Moniteur* of the 5th January last contains a report of M. Mynoi de Mynas to the Minister of Public Instruction, giving an account of a literary mission to the Levant, undertaken by him under the direction of the French government. The principal object of the mission of M. Mynas was the acquisition of Greek Manuscripts; and his report contains a list of those which he has purchased and brought to Paris. The number is fifty-two; and they are classed under the heads of, 1. Literature, 2. History, 3. Law, 4. Medicine, 5. Philosophy and Physics, 6. Ecclesiastical subjects, 7. Astrology. Of the first class, by far the most important is a manuscript stated to contain a

considerable portion of the lost choliambic fables of Babrias. The name of the author is in this MS. written *Balebrias;* and the fables are arranged in alphabetic order (*i. e.* we presume, according to the initial letter of the fable). The MS. is incomplete, inasmuch as it breaks off at the letter O; but it is reported to contain several thousand unpublished verses. We understand that the MS. has been confided to M. Boissonade, who is to publish it, at M. Didot's press, with notes and a *Latin translation.* The latter part of M. Boissonade's labour might, as it seems to us, be advantageously omitted. M. Mynas has likewise procured a purer MS. of the Esopian fables, which he refers to the tenth century. Amongst the other MSS. of this class, there is one of the sixteenth century containing some treatises of Aristotle; one of the fourteenth century, containing the Electra of Sophocles, with scholia and interlinear glosses; one of the Iliad (incomplete) with scholia, of the thirteenth century; one of the fifteenth century, containing the Plutus and the Clouds; and a MS. of the fourteenth century, containing (*inter alia*) the Ajax of Sophocles with scholia, and Oppian, and Hesiod's Works and Days, likewise with scholia. M. Mynas states that the scholia on the Ajax in this MS. are inedited. Under the head of history, the most important MS. is one of an unpublished treatise of Philostratus on the Gymnastic art. It consists of twenty pages in quarto of close writing. Amongst the other manuscripts, there are only three which present much interest to the general classical scholar, viz. a MS. of the fourteenth century, containing the Plutus, Clouds, and Frogs of Aristophanes, with scholia, the life of the poet, and some miscellaneous pieces[1]; and two MSS., one referred to the thirteenth, the other to the fourteenth century, containing anonymous lexica. There are likewise several MSS. of commentaries upon treatises of Aristotle.

Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft.

A new historical journal (entitled *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*) has lately been commenced at Berlin, and the first three monthly numbers have appeared. The editor is Dr. W. Adolph Schmidt, and the work is published under the auspices of Prof. Boeckh, the two Grimms, Pertz, and L. Ranke. With the exception of two papers, both by the editor, all the articles relate to modern or middle age history. The first of the two articles on ancient history (in No. I.) contains an interesting statement of the gradual transition of the republican into the imperial government of Rome, and the various

[1] See *Classical Museum*, Vol. I. p. 135.

means by which the popular rights, as they existed under the commonwealth, were partly abolished, and partly converted into unsubstantial forms. The second (in No. II.), consists merely of an emendation of the passage of Strabo (VIII. 5, p. 364), which contains the account given by Ephorus respecting the Doric invasion of Laconia. Dr. Schmidt remarks that the words καλεῖσθαι δὲ Εἵλωτας, which at present refer to all the native population of Laconia, subjugated by the Dorians, ought to be transposed, so as to follow the mention of the inhabitants of Helos, who, having revolted, were reduced to slavery. The passage, as corrected, would run thus: τοὺς δ' Ἐλείους τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ Ἕλος, ποιησαμένους ἀπόστασιν, κατὰ κράτος ἁλῶναι πολέμῳ καὶ κριθῆναι δούλους, καλεῖσθαι δὲ Εἵλωτας. Dr. Schmidt thinks that by the expression ἁλῶναι πολέμῳ Ephorus alludes to the derivation from ἕλω; as he uses the Ethnic name Ἐλείους, he cannot derive εἵλως from the town. (See *Philol. Mus.* Vol. II. p. 45, note.) It seems certain that the words καλεῖσθαι δὲ Εἵλωτας either ought to be transposed in the manner indicated by Dr. Schmidt, or rejected altogether. The transposition suggested by him is however preferable; at the same time, it seems probable that although Ephorus may not have adopted the explanation of the name of the Helots from the town Helos, the story of its reduction, and the enslaving of its inhabitants, was invented in order to account for the name; that it was, in short, an etymological mythus.

Proceedings of the Philological Society of London.

The fourteenth number of the printed proceedings of the Philological Society (Dec. 8th, 1843) contains an unpublished Greek inscription, which has been communicated to the Society by Dr. Hawtrey. The inscription (of which a fac-simile is given) is stated to have been found on a broken tomb near the site of ancient Corcyra, in the month of October, 1843. The letters are written on a single line, and from left to right; their form is very archaic (in the judgment of Dr. Hawtrey, the date is as early as Pisistratus). Written in small characters, and divided into verses, the inscription (with Dr. Hawtrey's supplements) runs as follows:—

ϝιιου Τλασιαϝο Μενεκρατεος τοδε σαμα,
Οιανθεος γενεαν· τοδε δ' αυτοι δαμος εποιει·
ες γαρ προσξενϝος δαμου φιλος· αλλ' ενι ποντ[οι]
ολετο· δαμοσιον δε καθ[ικ]ε[το πενθος εκαστον·]
πραξιμενες δ' αυτος [γαιας] απο πατριδος ενθον
συν δαμοι τοδε σαμα κασιγνετοιο ποκεθε.

The purport of the inscription is clear. It is an epitaph, recording

the gratitude of the Corcyræan people to Menecrates, the son of Tlasias, an inhabitant of Oenanthe (a town of the Locri Ozolæ), who had been joined to them by ties of proxenia, and had been lost at sea. Praximenes, his brother, came from his home, and cooperated with the people in erecting the monument.

Dr. Hawtrey points out the singular production of the antepenult of Τλασίαϝο, the more singular form πρόξενϝος for προξεῖνος, and the use of πονήθη for ἐπονήσατο. In other parts of the inscription, the Doric α (he remarks) is used for η, as Τλασίας for Τλησίας, σᾶμα, γενεᾶν, δᾶμος and δαμόσιος; and therefore if πονήθη was used, one should have expected πονάθη. He likewise observes that the Doric genitive -ω for -ου is not used. Dr. Hawtrey does not distinctly express any doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription; and indeed he suggests an excuse for the latter inconsistencies, by saying that the workman employed to cut the stone might have spoken a different dialect from that in which the verses are composed. We confess, however, that we entertain a strong suspicion that this inscription was fabricated by some Italian antiquary, and placed in the spot where it is stated to have been lately found. In addition to the suspicious forms and expressions pointed out by Dr. Hawtrey, we cannot reconcile the genitive case in ου with the extremely archaic form of the letters in which the inscription is written. There is nothing in the subject or language of the inscription which might not have been easily forged: the gentile name Οἰανθεὺς occurs in Thucyd. III. 101. It seems moreover very doubtful whether, at the early period to which this inscription is referred, the government of Corcyra was so purely democratic, that a monument to a πρόξενος would be erected by the δᾶμος. (See Müller, *Dor.* b. iii. ch. 9, § 5.) If the inscription can be proved to be of genuine Greek origin, it must, we think, have been set up at a late period, and written in archaic characters, in order to imitate antiquity (see Boeckh, *Corp. Inscrip.* No. 1759): though it is difficult to understand how a caprice of this sort, which might occur to an individual, would have been suffered to determine the writing of an epitaph inscribed by the state to one of its benefactors.

XI.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

THE Trachiniæ and the Philoctetes of Sophocles, with Notes critical and explanatory, by T. Mitchell, M.A. 8vo. Oxford.

Αισχυλου Ευμενιδες. Æschyli Eumenides. Ad Codicum Manuscriptorum fidem recognovit et Notis maximam partem criticis instruxit Gul. Linwood, A.M., Ædis Christi Alum. Accedunt viri summe Reverendi C. J. Blomfieldii, S. T. P. Notæ MStæ et aliorum selectæ. 8vo. Oxonii, 1844.

Gallus, or Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus; illustrative of Roman Manners and Customs. Translated from the German of Professor Becker. London, post 8vo. 1844.

Historical and Critical Comments on the History of Herodotus. From the French of Larcher. New Edition, with Additions and Corrections. By W. D. Cooley. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1844.

Poemata Lyrica, Versu Latino rimante Scripta. Henrico D. Ryder, in Eccles. Cath. Lichfield. Canon. 18mo. Lichfield.

Cambridge University Calendar. 12mo. 1844.

Durham University Calendar. 12mo. 1844.

Ancient Rhythmical Art recovered, or a New Method of explaining the Metrical Structure of a Greek Tragic Chorus. By the late W. O'Brien, M.A. Post 8vo. Dublin, 1844.

Greece under the Romans: A Historical View of the Greek Nation from the Time of its Conquest by the Romans until the Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East. By G. Finlay, K.R.G. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1844.

The Tragedies of Sophocles in English Prose. A new Translation, with copious Notes. Cambridge, 12mo. 1844.

Pindari Carmini, ad fidem textus Böckhiani: Pars Secunda continens Odas Pythias: Notas quasdam Anglice scriptas adjecit Gul. Cookesley, M.A. 8vo. Eton, 1844.

Fasciculus Inscriptionum Græcarum quas ex sedibus Apocalypticis relatas, notisque tum criticis, tum exegeticis instructas, accedentibus, auctario et indicibus, in lucem protulit, Jac. K. Bailie, S.T.P. 4to. Dublin, 1844.

Brandreth, Thomas Shaw, A Dissertation on the Metre of Homer. 8vo. London, Pickering. 1844.

Junius, L., Treatise on the Greek Verb; with reference to the evolution of it from primary elements, the causes of its amplification, and the proper power of its various forms. 8vo. London, Longman. 1843.

Krebs, J. Ph., Guide for Writing Latin: consisting of rules and examples for practice. From the German, by Samuel H. Taylor. 8vo. London, Wiley and Putnam. 1843.

Niebuhr, B. G., History of Rome, from the first Punic War to the death of Constantine, in a series of Lectures, including an Introductory Course on the sources and study of Roman History. In 2 vols. Edited by Dr. L. Schmitz. 8vo. London, Taylor and Walton. 1844.

Smith, Dr. W., Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Parts V. and VI. from BRUTUS to CLAUDIUS. 8vo. London, Taylor and Walton. 1844.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

AESCHYLOS gefesselter Prometheus. . Griechisch und deutsch mit Einl. Anmerk. u. d. gelöst. Prometh. von. G. F. Schoemann. 8vo. Greifsw.

Ciceronis de Officiis libri III. Recens. R. Stuerenburg. Accedit Commentarius. 8vo. Lips.

Creuzer, F., Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen. 3 verb. Ausg. 8vo. Darmstadt. Complete in 4 vols. 8vo.

Curtius, E. Inscriptiones Atticæ nuper repertæ duodecim. 8vo. Berol.

——— Die Akropolis von Athen. Ein Vortrag. 8vo. Berlin.

Duentzer, H., Kritik und Erklärung der Horazischen Gedichte. 4 Th.: Der Episteln zweites Buch. 12mo. Braunschw.

Engelbregt, C. A., De legibus agrariis ante Gracchos. 8vo. Lugd. Bat.

Forbiger, A., Handbuch der alten Geographie. 2 Bd. Politische Geographie der Alten. Asia, Africa. 8vo. Leipzig.

Freund, W., Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprache. II Bd. 2te Abth. Royal 8vo. Hannover.

Fulgentius Fabius Planciades de abstrusis sermonibus. (Expositio sermonum antiquorum). Nach zwei Brüsseler MSS. herausg. und litterarhistorisch gewürdigt von Dr. Lersch. 8vo. Bonn.

Gent, J. M., van, Epistola critica de Duridis Samii reliquiis. 8vo. Lugd. Bat.

Georges, Dr. K. E., lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch nach dem heutigen Standpunkte der lateinischen Sprachwissenschaft ausgearbeitet. 2 vols. Royal 8vo. Leipzig.

Grothe, J. A., dissert. liter. inaug. de Socrate Aristophanis. 8vo. Traj. ad Rhen.

Hamaker, H. G., Quæstiones de nonnullis Lysiæ orationibus. 8vo. Lugd. Bat.

Hoff, J. H. B. von, Commentatio de Mytho Helenæ Euripideæ. 8vo. Lugd. Bat.

Leemans, C., animadvers. in Mus. Ant. Lugd. Bat. inscript. græc. et latin. 4to. c. tabb. Lugd. Bat.

Meineke, A., philologicarum exercitationum in Athenæi Deipnosophistas specimen I. 4to. Berol.

Plutarchi Cimon. Commentariis suis illust. et de vitæ hujus fontibus disseruit A. Ekker. 8vo. Traj. ad Rhen.

Propertii Elegiarum libri IV. Question. Propertian. libri tres et Comment. illust. G. A. B. Hertzberg. Tom. I. II. 8vo. Halle.

Rassow, H., Aristotelis de notionis definitione doctrina. 8vo. Berlin.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie: Herausg. von F. G. Welcker u. F. Ritschl. Neue Folge, Bd. III. Heft. 2. 8vo.

C. Salusti Crispi Catilina et Jugurtha. Aliorum suisque notis illust. R. Dietsch. Vol. I. Catilina. 12mo. Lipsiæ.

Senecæ Opera. Ad libros MSS. et impressos recensuit commentarios criticos subjecit disputationes et indicem addidit C. R. Fickert. Vol. II. 8vo. Lipsiæ.

Steub, L., Ueber die Urbewohner Rätiens und ihren Zusammenhang mit den Etruskern. 8vo. München.

Suidæ Lexicon græce et latine. Ad fidem optimorum librorum exactum post Th. Gaisfordum recensuit et annotatione critica instruxit Godofr. Bernhardy. Tomi I. fasc. VII. et ult. Halle.

Wunder, E., Miscellanea Sophoclea. 4to. Grimma.

Zeller, E., Die Philosophie der Griechen. Eine Untersuchung über Character, Gang und Hauptmomente ihrer Entwickelung, 1 Theil. 8vo. Tübingen.

Zumpt, Dr. C. G., über den Bestand der philosophischen Schulen in Athen und die Succession der Scholarchen. 4to. Berlin.

Note on Page 44.

ARISTOTLE likewise says, in the *Treatise on the Soul*, II. 5. § 1, *τοῦτο δὲ πῶς δυνατὸν ἢ ἀδύνατον, εἰρήκαμεν ἐν τοῖς καθόλου λόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν*, where (notwithstanding Trendelenburg's doubt) the reference is doubtless to *De Gen. et Corr.* I. 7. Again, in the same treatise, II. 11. § 10, he says, *λέγω δὲ διαφορὰς αἳ τὰ στοιχεῖα διορίζουσι, θερμὸν, ψυχρὸν, ξηρὸν, ὑγρὸν, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν πρότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ στοιχείων*, where again the reference is to *De Gen. et Corrupt.* II. 2 and 3. Compare Brandis, *De Perditis Aristotelis libris de Ideis*, p. 7. For other self-citations of Aristotle, see Trendelenburg *ad Aristot. de An.* p. 115—25; Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. III. p. 29.

THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XII.

ON CYCLOPEAN REMAINS IN CENTRAL ITALY.

It is only within the last thirty or forty years that attention has been generally directed to those singular monuments of antiquity, commonly known by the name of Cyclopean, which are found to be so extensively dispersed throughout Greece and great part of Italy. In the latter country indeed they appear, strangely enough, to have been passed over altogether without notice until the beginning of the present century: and though it is obvious that the massive walls of so many ancient cities could not have been overlooked by the earlier investigators of Italian antiquities, their peculiar style of construction seems to have attracted no remark, and was included under the comprehensive head of *opus incertum*, or even in defiance of fact described as *opus quadratum*[1]. But the researches of late years have brought to light ample evidence that the same style of building which is found in the gigantic walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ, as well as in numerous other instances throughout almost all parts of Greece, was extensively adopted on the other side of the Adriatic also. Some of the still extant monuments of this kind in Italy are indeed scarcely inferior to those mighty remains which were referred by ancient tradition to the giant workmen of Vulcan. This discovery led naturally enough to the inference that these great works were in both countries

[1] Thus Vulpi, in his *Latium Vetus* (T. 3. p. 218. Tab. XXI.), not only describes the walls of Norba, one of the most striking instances in Italy of the polygonal style, as being "ex secto et *quadrato* lapide ædificata;" but gives a view of part of them in which they are represented as built of quadrangular blocks in regular horizontal layers.

erected by the same people; and as the story which attributed those of Argolis to the mythological Cyclopes was necessarily rejected by the criticism of later days, a solution of the difficulty was sought in the supposition that all similar structures, both in Greece and Italy, were to be referred to those Pelasgic races, which were known to have been among the earliest inhabitants of both countries. There is something in the massive solidity of these remains eminently calculated to produce a strong effect upon the imagination, and to harmonize with, if not in itself to produce, a belief in their very remote antiquity; and this feeling could not but lead to the ready adoption of a theory that ascribed them to those vague and mysterious Pelasgians, of whom we hear so much, and know after all so little. The admitted fact of a very high antiquity in the case of Tiryns, which deserved even in the days of Homer to be distinguished by the epithet "wally[2]," and in the "heaven-high walls of the Cyclopes[3]" at Mycenæ, could not but lend its support to this view of the subject, and lead to the assigning all similar constructions to an age equally remote and indefinite.

These conclusions seem to have been received for the most part with little question, and found warm advocates in some of the most zealous of those inquirers to whom we are indebted for bringing to light many of the most interesting remains of this description. In the course of these researches, indeed, as well as of the historical inquiries by which they were accompanied, facts were discovered and arguments brought forward, which not only tended to throw doubts upon the generality of these inferences, but were certainly sufficient to shew that they could not possibly be admitted in their full extent. Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, a belief in the great antiquity of all such monuments, or at least with few and trifling exceptions, as well as in their Pelasgic origin, appears to be still the prevailing opinion. It is in hopes of contributing to overthrow an idea which I believe to be erroneous, though generally received, that I have thrown together the following observations. The question is not one of interest merely to the architectural antiquarian, but is intimately connected with the early history of the Italian nations, and with all inquiries

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[2] Τίρυνθά τε τειχίοεσσαν. Hom. *Il.* b. 559.

[3] Κυκλώπειά τ' οὐράνια τείχεα. Eurip. *Electr.* 1161.

into their condition before they fell under the yoke of Rome. For not only have the remains of this description been regarded as proceeding exclusively from one particular race or family, and consequently as an important auxiliary in unravelling the tangled web of traditions relative to the earliest inhabitants of Italy; but they have been also cited as proofs of a degree of power and civilization in the tribes by whom they were erected, far exceeding that which we find existing in the same countries during those times of which we have any historical account. This view has been adopted even by Niebuhr himself[4]: but the authority of his great name undoubtedly carries with it the less weight in this instance, because he had himself visited few, if any, of these remarkable relics of antiquity. And it cannot be denied that, imposing as they are on the first aspect, a careful examination of these supposed Pelasgic monuments is calculated to dissipate in some measure the *prestige* by which they have been surrounded. It was after having thus examined in succession many of the most celebrated specimens of this style of architecture in Central Italy, that I found myself in a manner compelled to adopt conclusions at variance with those commonly received on this subject, and which have been sanctioned by such high authorities as Niebuhr and K. O. Müller[5].

I am well aware that many of these views cannot pretend to the merit of novelty, and that the principal conclusions to which I was led by a personal and independent investigation of the monuments themselves, subsequently confirmed by historical inquiries, have been anticipated in great part by Sir W. Gell, M. Bunsen[6], and other antiquarians. But as the question may be regarded as one still *sub judice*, and the views entertained by the distinguished writers just referred to do not altogether coincide with my own, it may not be amiss to collect into one view all those points which appear to have an important bearing upon the question at issue. In so far as my arguments are derived from the ruins themselves, something, it must be allowed, will always depend upon individual impression, which it is impossible either to support by proof, or distinctly to convey to the mind of another.

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[4] *Römische Geschichte*, T. I. p. 182 (Vol. I. p. 146. Eng. trans. 1st edit.; p. 174 of the 3rd edit.).

[5] *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*. p. 169. 170.

[6] *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Tom. VI. p. 142. 145.

In the first place, it must be observed that the peculiar style of construction commonly termed Cyclopean, is confined, so far as all existing remains in Italy are concerned, to the walls and gates of fortified cities, or to substructions which may, in some instances, be merely the remaining basements of similar walls, in others must have served to support temples or other buildings[7]. It must be therefore borne in mind, that no secure conclusions can be drawn from a comparison of such remains with any architectural monuments of a different description, as it by no means follows that the same people might not employ, in their fortifications and other works where massive solidity was the only object, both materials and a style of construction altogether different from those which they made use of for more ornamental or for domestic purposes.

The works included in common acceptance under the term Cyclopean are usually and conveniently enough divided into three classes, characterized each by its peculiar style, but all agreeing in being composed of large and massive blocks of stone, put together without cement, and without that regularity observable in the later masonry both of the Greeks and Romans.

The first of these can hardly be better described than in the words of Pausanias[8], where he is speaking of the ruins of Tiryns, then probably in much the same state of preservation as they are at the present day. "The wall (says he) which is the only part of the ruins that now remains, is the work of the Cyclopes, and is built of unwrought stones, each stone being of such a size that even the smallest of them could not be stirred at all by a yoke of mules. Small stones have been fitted

[7] It is not a little singular that the only instance, out of Greece, in which we find this mode of building applied to any other purpose than those just mentioned—the very curious house or palace at Cefalù, described by Dr. Nott (*Ann. d. Ist. Arch.* T. III. p. 270)—should occur in Sicily, where no other considerable remains of Cyclopean construction have yet been discovered. When I visited this singular monument in 1836, I was told by my guide that some remains of a wall built in a similar manner of large blocks, had existed on another part of the rock until a few years before, when they had been thrown down by himself and a party of companions, in hopes of discovering a treasure underneath them. The same idea may have frequently led to the destruction of other masses of ancient walls, of which no trace now remains. Cyclopean remains have also been mentioned as existing on Mount Eryx (Smyth's *Sicily*, p. 242. Gerhard. *Mem. dell' Ist. Arch.* T. I. p. 83), but the fact does not appear to have been verified by any competent observer.

[8] Lib. II. c. 25. § 7.

in of old, in such manner as they might best serve to fit together the large ones." It is to this style, considered as the most ancient of all from its great apparent rudeness, as well as from the known antiquity of these walls of Tiryns, regarded as its type, that several authors have proposed to restrict the term Cyclopean; but in so doing they seem to have overlooked the fact that Pausanias himself attributes to the same Cyclopes[9] the construction of the walls and gates of Mycenæ, which present an entirely different style of work, and one that would seem *primâ facie* to argue a much later date[10]. It is to these walls and edifices of Mycenæ also that we find the epithet "Cyclopean," or some equivalent expression, so frequently applied by Euripides[11]. There can be little doubt that the meaning of the term, as thus employed in early ages, was merely equivalent to "gigantic," and was applied by the Greeks of those days to the massive relics of unknown antiquity in the same manner as the peasants of Sicily at the present day style the mighty ruins of the temples of Selinuntium "Pileri dei Giganti." The poets of course readily adopted the appellation, and considered it as bearing actual reference to the Cyclopes of mythology, while the pragmatic writers of a later age endeavoured to account for it by supposing these Cyclopes to have been a race of foreign architects, who erected the buildings in question. It is scarcely necessary to point out the absurdity of receiving this statement literally, or attempting to establish upon this ground a distinction between these buildings and those which have been termed

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[9] Κυκλώπων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἳ Προίτῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἐποίησαν ἐν Τίρυνθι. Paus. Lib. II. c. 16. § 4. This is in reference not only to the walls, but also to the famous gate of the lions.

[10] See the views of them given in Dodwell's *Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy*, pl. 5-9.

[11] The term "Cyclopean" as applied to the walls or edifices of Mycenæ, or some equivalent poetical phrase, such as Κυκλώπων θύμελαι (*Iph. Aul.* 152), Κυκλωπίων πόνον χερῶν (Ibid. 1475), &c., occurs no less than ten times in the extant works of Euripides. Twice indeed (Troades. 1079. *Iph. Aul.* 524), the epithet seems to apply to the walls of Argos, but this doubtless arises only from that confusion of Argos and Mycenæ which is so frequent in the Attic tragedians. We must not interpret too strictly the words of such a poet as Euripides, but certainly the passage in the Hercules Furens (v. 924), where he speaks of

τὰ κυκλώπων βάθρα
φοίνικι κανόνι καὶ τύκοις ἠρμοσμένα,

seems to show that the popular notion of these Cyclopean structures did not involve the idea of [illegible] built of *unwrought* [illegible] put together. [illegible] Κυκλώ-

Pelasgic[12]: such an attempt is at all events manifestly incompatible with the existence of any *Cyclopean* remains, as thus defined, in Italy, and may therefore be dismissed from our present consideration. The term Cyclopean, if adopted at all with reference to the Italian ruins, must certainly be used in a wider and more general sense, as including all those structures which the large masses of stone employed, together with a certain rudeness and irregularity of construction, would readily lead us to refer to a very early period. It is in this sense that the term has acquired something like a popular use, which is in this instance undoubtedly more correct than the confined signification to which it has been sought to restrict it.

The second style may be considered as an obvious improvement on the first, the massive blocks of which the walls of this description also are composed having their sides hewn or wrought so as to be accurately fitted together, and their external faces smoothed, so that the whole front of the wall presents a smooth even surface, divided into a number of very irregular polygons, much like a Roman pavement set upright. The remains of this style, which appear to occur in all parts of Greece from Arcadia to Epirus, are also much the most numerous in Italy, and are found scattered over almost all the central parts of the peninsula. They present, indeed, as might well be expected, considerable differences of construction; the blocks which compose them being more or less accurately fitted—sometimes so imperfectly as to approximate closely to the first style—and varying also very much in their prevailing forms, as they approach more or less to regular polygons on the one hand, or exhibit a marked tendency to trapezoidal and even rectangular forms on the other. It is to the remains of this style that Sir W. Gell[13] and many other writers have pro-

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[12] This has, however, been done by Sir W. Gell, who derives these Cyclopeans (on the authority of Strabo) from Lycia. The total want of criticism displayed in the manner in which he adopts literally the historical statements of ancient writers concerning ante-historical times, is calculated to excite a prejudice against much that is of real value in his works. Thus he not only receives literally the assertion of Pausanias, that Lycosura in Arcadia was the most ancient of all cities, but founds thereon an argument to show that the polygonal style was in use before the ruder Cyclopean one, because Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, lived some time before either Prœtus or Perseus! We might as well inquire into the precise time at which Ludgate was built by its *eponymus* king Lud.

[13] *Topogr. of Rome*, V. 1. p. 175,

posed to apply the term Pelasgic, the propriety of which appellation I shall presently have occasion to investigate: the term *polygonal* adopted by others, appears decidedly preferable, as being simply descriptive, and involving no theoretical inferences.

The third style is at once distinguished from the other two by the stones that are employed in it being rectangular, and laid horizontally, though not, as in the more perfect masonry of the Greeks and Romans, in regular horizontal courses, or with any attention to the recurrence of the vertical joints. They are, on the contrary, of all sizes, and the corners frequently dove-tailed into one another, or those of the larger blocks filled up with smaller ones; but still the general tendency to a horizontal arrangement is always strongly marked. This mode of building appears to be peculiar, at least in its most characteristic form, to the ancient cities of Etruria, and has been thence generally called Etruscan, though it was not, as we shall presently see, by any means universal even in that country.

Of the three styles thus defined, the first appears to be of rare occurrence in Greece, and very few characteristic specimens of it are to be seen in Italy. The walls of Aufidena, first discovered by Mr. Fox[14], are said to present the most striking example of it, but these I have unfortunately never seen, nor am I aware that any figures, or even accurate descriptions of them, have yet been published. Among the several tiers of walls, or rather substructions, existing at Cora, some present a marked approximation to this style, and the same may be said of some parts also of the walls of Arpino and those of Norba, but all these appear to me rather deserving to be called rudely polygonal, than regarded as belonging to a separate mode of building. It is indeed very difficult to draw the line between these two styles: the limestone in many parts of Italy cleaves so readily into irregular polygonal forms, that the masses of it might be easily made use of just as they came from the quarry, and yet be hardly distinguishable from the polygonal blocks

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V. II. p. 162, &c. See also Petit Radel in the *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico*, Dodwell, *Views of Cyclopean Cities*, &c. All these writers seem to have been in a manner *pledged* to the Pelasgic theory, by having formed among themselves a Pelasgic Socie[illegible] investigation [illegible] scription.

[14] *Mem.*

artificially shaped: on the other hand, in almost all the walls of ruder construction which I have had the opportunity of examining, I have found some at least of the blocks to have been evidently shaped by art, though not fitted with the nicety and accuracy observable in other instances. It may be added, that as the smoothing of the external faces in the more perfect specimens of the second style must have been performed, or at least completed, after the walls were erected, the absence of this finishing process may in some instances be attributable merely to haste, or the incompleteness of the work[15]. Of those remains, which I have myself visited, by far the rudest and those in which the stones are most generally unhewn, as well as the interstices least perfectly filled up, are the walls of an ancient city crowning a hill near Monte Fortino, supposed by Gell to be the Artena of Livy, the destruction of which is recorded by him in U.C. 351[16], and which, as it does not again appear in history, was probably never rebuilt. The site of it, though now entirely deserted, is still called La Civita, an unfailing indication of an ancient city: and remains of the walls, though everywhere of small height, may be traced for a very considerable extent, following as usual the brow of the hill, so as to enclose all the comparatively level space on its summit, while the highest point was occupied by the *arx* or citadel. Part of the walls of the latter also remain[17], and being rather better preserved than those of the town, afford the best specimens of the style of construction, which is certainly as rude as that of Tiryns itself, though far less massive. The stones, indeed, which compose the walls of the supposed Artena, though large, are by no means gigantic, a circumstance of much importance in estimating their probable antiquity, as it is evident that the durability of walls so constructed, and consequently the presumption of their having subsisted through so many centuries, must depend mainly upon the massiveness of the rough blocks of which they were originally put together. It is

[15] Even at Tiryns itself it appears that some of the blocks have been hewn at least in the neighbourhood of the gates. See Dodwell's *Views of Cyclopean Cities*, Pl. 4, 5.

[16] Lib. IV. c. 61.

[17] Some portions of these are figured by Gell, V. I. p. 197, 198. In one of them he gives the dimensions of one of the stones as being seven feet wide. I doubt whether another as large could be found in the whole extent of the ruins now existing.

indeed nothing but this massiveness that distinguishes the rudest species of Cyclopean masonry from the ordinary walls of rough stones with which the Italian peasant at the present day encloses his fields[18].

In our total ignorance of the history of these ruins at La Civita (for their identification with Artena must be admitted to be a mere conjecture, and, even if a correct one, throws no light on their origin[19]), it would be idle to speculate upon the probable period of their erection, but I am far from being disposed to admit that the rudeness of their construction must necessarily refer them to a very ancient date.

That the second or polygonal style of building was an improvement on this ruder mode, and therefore followed it in the order of invention, is indeed, I think, unquestionable, but it by no means follows that the first style was entirely laid aside as soon as the second was discovered, so that all the walls of this construction must have preceded any of the regularly polygonal ones. Just as well might it be argued that no man would build a wall of loose and rough stones when the art was once discovered of constructing one of the same stones wrought into shape and held together with cement. Defences like those of Artena may frequently have been erected in haste, or under the pressure of circumstances which would not allow of the construction of more elaborate bulwarks[20]: and when once erected,

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[18] It is justly observed by Sir W. Gell (*Top. of Rome*, V. I. p. 200), that "the vicinity of Arpino presents at this day many specimens of walls nearly approaching to Cyclopean, though newly built." The same may be said of almost all the limestone districts of the Apennines.

[19] I may take this opportunity of remarking that the description of the taking of Artena in Livy certainly does not seem to me to accord with the situation of La Civita. His narrative implies the existence of a citadel in a very strong and inaccessible situation, detached from the town, which seems to have been comparatively easy of approach. At La Civita the summit of the hill, occupied by the *arx*, is but little elevated above the plateau or level space on which the town must have stood, while the whole is on the top of a steep and lofty hill. I should be more inclined to look for the citadel of Artena in a position such as that of Rocca Massima; but all is mere conjecture; the more so, as it is very doubtful whether Livy was himself acquainted with the exact situation of a city at some distance from Rome, and which was destroyed in such early times.

[20] Gell has cited (Vol. II. p. 162) a passage from Frontinus de Coloniis which would lead us to infer that this was the case even with the walls of Aufidena already alluded to. The reasons that induce me to attach little weight to the authority of this passage will be mentioned hereafter. *Vide* inf. p. 176.

their solidity, combined with the natural advantages of the position, was probably thought sufficient for security. In reasoning upon the probable age of monuments like those now under consideration, it is well to bear in mind the maxim laid down by Mr. Rickman, in a dissertation upon the relics of an equally indefinite antiquity in our own country[21], that the presumption is always *cæteris paribus* in favour of the latest age, on account of the increased chances of destruction that necessarily belong to the more remote one. Such a presumption is indeed in great measure rebutted, where the monuments themselves are of such a degree of solidity as may seem to have readily defied all causes of destruction, as in the mighty walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ so often alluded to, but we must be careful not to extend the inference to cases where a similar rudeness of construction is not accompanied by the same gigantic strength.

I come now to consider the remains of the second style, which, as already mentioned, is that most generally adopted in the ancient cities of central Italy. The researches of antiquarians of late years have made known not less than fifty or sixty localities[22] where monuments of this description occur. But notwithstanding that it is thus extensively diffused through certain regions, the use of this peculiar style will be found to be confined within definite geographical limits, which may easily be assigned. No remains of this character have yet been discovered on the eastern slope of the Apennines, or between those mountains and the Adriatic, any more than to the north of the same chain or in the great plains of Lombardy: west of the Apennines, again, they are not found to the south of the Silarus or north of the Ombrone: throughout Lucania, Apulia, and Bruttium, they appear to be entirely wanting, as well as in Sicily, with the single, but very remarkable, exception already noticed. Nor do any of them occur in the rich plains of Campania, or the extensive volcanic tract of the Campagna around Rome: while they abound on the contrary in the valleys of the

[21] *Archæologia*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 411.

[22] Considerably more, indeed, if we count separately all those instances where polygonal remains are found in separate but neighbouring spots; as near Tivoli and in the Cicolano. See the lists given by Petit Radel and Gerhard in the *Memorie dell' Istituto Archeologico*, Tom. I. p. 65. 77. The following account of their geographical distribution is mainly founded upon these lists.

Apennines that open out upon these lower tracts, and the mountain heights which look down upon them. The districts formerly occupied by the Hernicans, Volscians, and Æquians, may be said to swarm with ruins of this character: those of Palestrina (the ancient Præneste), Segni, Cora, Norba, Setia, Circeii, Terracina, Fondi, Arpino, Alatri, Veroli, Ferentino, Atina, and Alba, on the lake Fucino, may be mentioned as the most remarkable, though by no means the only, specimens to be found in these regions. In Samnium they are more scarce: besides those of Aufidena, already mentioned as referred to the earlier style of construction, Bovianum and Æsernia are, I believe, the only cities in this province where remains of the polygonal style have been noticed. North of the Lago di Fucino, a single detached (and very anomalous) wall or substruction, near the site of Amiternum[23], is the only evidence of the adoption of this style of architecture in that part of the Apennines; but the valleys that open out at Rieti, and especially the wild mountain district of the Cicolano, are full of constructions of this character. Westward of Rieti, again, the walls of Amelia (according to Cato one of the most ancient cities of Italy) exhibit the same style, and appear to serve as a link to connect those of the central Apennines with the outlying points of Cosa and Saturnia, the only Etruscan cities in which the polygonal style is adopted instead of the horizontal one.

If we now inquire how far the geographical distribution of these remains can be considered as supporting the view of their exclusively *Pelasgic* origin, we are met at the outset by great difficulties, in consequence of the obscurity which, notwithstanding all the efforts of modern philology, still hangs over the origin of the different Italian races, and more particularly

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[23] This wall, which I examined in 1834, and of which I have a sketch made on the spot, certainly did not form part of the walls of a city, as is evident from its position in a narrow valley immediately abutting upon a deep ravine. It must have been a substruction for some purpose, but what, it is difficult to conceive. The structure is decidedly polygonal, and very rude, the blocks of stone large, but not enormous. About fifty yards higher up occur the remains of another wall, of much more regular, and decidedly horizontal, structure. Much too great importance has been attached to this ruin, which has been visited by Simelli, Dodwell, and others (see *Ann. d. Ist.* T. IV. p. 4, *Mem.* T. I. p. 81): except as the only specimen of polygonal building in this neighbourhood, it is of very little interest. The description given of it by M. Petit Radel on the authority of Simelli is altogether inaccurate.

over the history of the Pelasgic migrations. If indeed we could be content (with Sir W. Gell) to receive the well-known narrative of Dionysius[24] as a historical account of these migrations, the question might be easily settled: but there can be no doubt that that narrative was invented, though probably not by Dionysius himself, but by some earlier writer, to account for the traces, or supposed traces, of Pelasgic settlements found in such distant parts of Italy. An instance, precisely analogous, may be found in the curious detail of the voyage of Æneas given by the same historian. If, on the contrary, we examine the whole range of perplexed and contradictory traditions handed down to us by ancient writers, there is perhaps scarcely a tribe or city in Italy which may not, on some authority or another, be referred to a Pelasgic origin. The only safe course in such circumstances appears to be, to take the results that seem to be the best established by arguments drawn from other sources, and then to inquire how far those results coincide with the distribution of the monuments in question. Now there appears to be no conclusion relative to the early Italian nations more certain than the existence, from a very remote period, of two great races or families, equally distinct from one another, and from the tribes of received Pelasgic origin: the one including the Sabines and Sabellians, with their known descendants the Samnites and Lucanians, and probably the Hernicans also: the other forming the Opican or Oscan race, in which were comprised the kindred tribes of the Volscians and Æquians[25]. The inquiry whether there may not have been an original affinity between these races and the Pelasgians, as it seems probable there existed between the Oscans and Sabellians themselves, has no reference to our present subject, as it would carry us back to a period far more remote than that to which any reasonable supposition can assign the monuments now under discussion.

If we consider them then from this point of view, we find that the so-called Pelasgic remains are numerous in the regions occupied by the Æquians and Volscians, as well as in the country of the Hernicans, that they are found in Samnium and in the high mountain tracts generally admitted to have been

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[24] Lib. 1. c. 17. seq.

[25] See Niebuhr *Röm. Gesch.* T. 1. p. 68-82; 95-114 (4th edit.) Vol. 1. p. 64, seq. 91, seq. Eng. trans. (3rd ed.)

the earliest abodes of the Sabines: that the ancient Umbrian city of Ameria is remarkable for its constructions of this character, while the Œnotrians, who are known with certainty to have at one time occupied all the south of Italy, and whose Pelasgic origin is more clearly established than that of almost any other Italian tribe, have not left a single monument of this description. In Latium again, whether we admit or reject the hypothesis of the Pelasgic descent of the so-called Aborigines, we are equally at a loss to account on the one hand for the presence of polygonal remains at Præneste, Signia, Cora, &c., and on the other, for their total absence not only throughout the plain of the Campagna, but on the group of the Alban hills, where there is no lack of the ruins of ancient cities. In Etruria, also, it is not easy to explain the occurrence of this mode of construction in a few cities only in one part of the country, while a different system is found to prevail both to the north and to the south of them. And if it be admitted that the Pelasgic element prevailed more or less in different parts of Etruria, there are no cities where we have more direct and express testimony to its influence than those of Falerii and Cære, at neither of which places are there any polygonal remains.

All these anomalies, however, admit of an easy explanation, if we abandon altogether the idea of referring these monuments to any single race or nation, and look merely to the natural facilities for their erection at the spots where they are found. All the polygonal walls throughout Italy are built of blocks of a hard limestone[26]: therefore they naturally occur only where that limestone is found. The particular stone in question, which constitutes all the principal masses of the central Apennines, is a hard, compact rock, not forming regular strata or thin beds like most of our English limestones, but cleaving in the quarry readily into large irregular polygons, which it can take but little trouble to fashion into blocks such as we see

[26] The only real exception to this general remark is in the wall at Ampiglione (supposed to be the ancient Empulum), near Tivoli, where the blocks, though decidedly polygonal, are of volcanic tufo. See Gell, Vol. II. p. 350. The remains are however of small extent, and this single instance of such an anomaly on an inconsiderable scale may be merely accidental. It is not improbable that the wall was built of fallen masses, just roughly hewn into shape, and not cut out of a quarry.

employed in the walls of the ancient cities. On the contrary, the hardness of the stone itself, and the absence of all tendency to a horizontal cleavage, render it one exceedingly ill-suited to be wrought into regular quadrangular masses: so that even where one finds it made use of for this purpose, as in some Roman works, much irregularity is generally to be remarked in the execution[27]. Accordingly we nowhere see this hard limestone made use of for quadrangular blocks of large size; such as we find universally adopted in the structures even of the most ancient cities, where the stone is a soft one, easily wrought into any required shape, or from its natural stratification lends itself readily to a horizontal structure. Thus the walls of Fiesole, Cortona, and Volterra, which, from their massive character and great irregularity of construction, would certainly seem to belong to a very early period, present no approach to the polygonal style, because they are built of a calcareous sandstone, which, though by no means soft, is naturally arranged in regular horizontal strata, and consequently splits easily into blocks of a similar form. On the contrary, the soft volcanic tufo of the Roman campagna is so easily cut, that one can hardly conceive any people capable of building cities at all to have been destitute of the skill to have hewn the masses of it into any required shape. The existing remains are perfectly in accordance with this inference[28]: the few blocks of *peperino* that still remain of the walls of Alba Longa and Gabii are regularly hewn and squared: those of Tusculum and Ardea present a regularity of masonry approaching to that of the admitted Roman works: nor do we find among the various obscure remains that indicate the sites of ancient cities in the Campagna, any traces of a tendency to the polygonal structure

[27] I observed a striking instance of this in the piles of the Roman bridge at Cora, where the joints of the masonry deviate continually from the vertical, and even the courses are not always horizontal. Yet this bridge is undoubtedly a Roman work, and can hardly have been an early one.

[28] The only exceptions that can be cited (and they are more apparent than real) are a very rude and irregular wall at Aricia, figured by Gell (*Top.* v. 2. p. 51), which can scarcely, from its position, have made part of the walls of the town, and was probably no more than a mere rough substruction, such as may be seen in any mountain village in Italy at the present day; and a small part of the wall of Tusculum (Gell, ib. p. 296); but the small size of the blocks employed in both these instances at once distinguishes them from the real polygonal constructions.

until we approach the foot of the Apennines, when both the imperfect and the regular polygonal style immediately reappear. Numerous specimens of this mode of construction are found at the foot of the hills near Tivoli, as well as at the base of Monte Genuaro, and on the hill of St. Angelo: some of them are regarded by Dodwell and Sir W. Gell as indicating the sites of Cænina, Medullia, Corniculum, and other towns destroyed in the first ages of Rome[29]: whether these attributions be well founded, it is not to my present purpose to inquire; but admitting them to be so, there is clearly no reason for regarding these cities either as more ancient than, or as proceeding from a different race, from those that are found in other parts of the Campagna, and which have been referred to Tellenæ, Appiolæ, Politorium, &c.[30]. It was the immediate proximity of the limestone mountains, and the facility of procuring materials of a more solid character than the ordinary volcanic tufo, that could alone give rise to the adoption of the polygonal style here, while it is wholly wanting throughout the rest of the Campagna. The same circumstance at once explains the apparent anomaly of the occurrence of polygonal walls at the Etruscan cities of Cosa and Saturnia; these walls being built of the same hard limestone as constitutes the central masses of the Apennines, while those of the more northern cities which present the horizontal structure are composed of the regularly stratified masses of the *macigno*[31].

It must indeed be admitted that the proof thus afforded that the geographical distribution of the polygonal remains in Italy has been determined by local and physical circumstances is not altogether irreconcilable with the supposition of their common origin, wherever they do exist. The advocates of the

[29] Representations of several of these remains will be found in Gell's *Topography of Rome*, Vol. I. p. 100. 228; V. II. p. 91, 92; and in Dodwell, Pl. 122-126.

[30] At Antemnæ and Fidenæ, the sites of which are clearly ascertained, not a single stone remains aboveground to point out the style of construction employed.

[31] It may be as well to state that the Italian term *macigno*, though often used for any hard rock, seems to be properly confined, in Tuscany, at least, to that peculiar hard sandstone, of a greenish grey colour, which is common through many parts of Tuscany, and is worked especially at Fiesole. The quarries of this place have furnished, besides the ancient walls immediately above them, the enormous blocks used in the foundations and basement of the Pitti palace. The stone of which the walls of Volterra are built, is, geologically speaking, much more recent; but, for building purposes, presents little difference.

Pelasgic system may still attribute to that people all the cities where ruins of such a description are found, while they allow that they may have modified their style of architecture according to the nature of their materials; and erected their massive walls of polygonal or quadrangular blocks, as they found most convenient. But it must be observed, that this hypothesis not only fails to account for the absence of all such structures, whether polygonal or horizontal, in extensive tracts where we have every reason to believe in the existence of Pelasgic tribes; but is in direct contradiction to the fact of their occurrence in others, where no trace of the passage of that people is to be found. Thus, even if we admit the assertion of Julius Hyginus[32] concerning the Pelasgic origin of the Hernicans to outweigh the far more probable statements which would refer them to a Sabellian stock[33], and insist on ascribing all the numerous remains of ancient cities in the central valleys of the Apennines to the Aborigines, who preceded the tribes that we find actually occupying them in historical times, it still remains to account for the abundance of similar monuments in the regions held by the Oscan races of the Volscians and Æquians, as well as for their occurrence among the Samnites and Umbrians. In all these cases, those who maintain the Pelasgic theory are necessarily driven to the supposition that these great works were erected at a period anterior to all historical record, by tribes which preceded the Volscians, Æquians, &c., in the occupation of these countries, and that those tribes were of Pelasgic descent. Apart from the fact that such a hypothesis is purely gratuitous, it is evident that its plausibility must depend in great measure upon the amount of proof, or at least probability, that such remains are in all cases of very high antiquity. To the consideration of this point I shall now proceed.

It seems to have been generally received as an obvious conclusion, that such a similarity of style as is apparent in the construction of the polygonal walls in Italy, is in itself evidence of their belonging to something like the same period; and that, therefore, if there is good reason to infer in some cases their great antiquity, we need have little hesitation

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[32] Ap. Macrob. *Saturn.* v. 18.

[33] *Serv. ad Æn.* VII. 684. See also Niebuhr *Röm. Gesch.* I. p. 107 (Vol. I. p. 101, Eng. trans.).

in extending the same conclusion to all others. If, however, the view that I have attempted to establish be well founded, that this peculiar mode of construction was in all cases determined by the nature of the stone employed, it becomes at least highly probable that it would have continued in use during a long time; and even that successive races of inhabitants would adopt in their turn a mode of building which was recommended by the convenience of being specially adapted to the materials at hand. For the erection of the walls of cities especially, as well as for those solid substructions so often required where towns are built, as is constantly the case in Central Italy, on steep hills and slopes, it would be out of the question bringing their materials from a distance, and the labour of reducing those on the spot into any other form would have been immense. On the contrary, a polygonal wall once erected was undoubtedly the strongest of all defences, as its massive solidity would bid defiance to the battering-ram, the most formidable engine of attack in ancient sieges. All these considerations would seem to render it probable that such a style of building when once introduced, would continue to be adopted through successive ages for all purposes requiring great solidity, without any ornamental object. Now, that it was occasionally at least so employed by the Romans themselves, and in the cities of Italy long after they had become subject to the Roman power, as late even as the fifth and sixth centuries from the foundation of the city, can be satisfactorily shewn. For we find this polygonal structure, identical in all respects with that seen in the walls of many of the ancient cities of Italy, employed by the Romans themselves in the substructions that support their great roads, where these are carried through a limestone country, as in the case of the Via Salaria near Rieti, the Via Valeria in several places between Tivoli and Tagliacozzo, and the Via Appia between Terracina and Fondi. Now, the Appian way was not constructed until the year of Rome 442, and the other two must certainly be of later date, though they may probably be referred to about the middle of the same century[34].

[34] The Via Valeria could not have been constructed before the year 448, when the Æquians were first completely subdued; nor the Via Salaria (at least that part of it where these substructions occur, between Rieti and Antrodoco) until about the same period. But in all these cases we obtain only a *limit* to the antiquity of these erections. Far from being certain that these polygonal remains

Again, there is a part of the walls of Alba Fucensis, which is incontestably of Roman construction, the interior of it being composed of *emplecton*, similar to that which forms the *nucleus* of the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and of many other buildings near Rome, where great solidity was required, while the external facing is composed of large polygonal blocks fitted accurately together. This instance cannot indeed be cited as one of a construction entirely similar to that of the more ancient walls, both because these blocks are used merely as a facing, or *revêtement*, and because they are held together by a thin layer of cement; but it is an unquestionable proof that the Romans did not disdain the employment of polygonal masses in the construction of fortifications, or think it necessary to incur the labour of reducing the hard limestone of the Apennines into the same regular forms as they did the softer tufo of their own neighbourhood. It is evident that the earliest date to which it is possible to refer these walls is the year 449 U.C., when the Roman colony was sent to Alba, which had been only just taken from the Æquians[35]. A still more remarkable instance of the adoption of the polygonal style, and at a still later period, is to be found at Ferentino. Here the summit of the hill on which the town is built is formed into a kind of level platform, on which probably once stood the principal temples of the city, as the modern cathedral now does; this platform is supported on all sides by massive stone substructions, the upper part of which is formed of quadrangular blocks of travertine[36], remarkably long and narrow, but in perfectly regular horizontal courses, and having their external sides regularly cut into projecting facets, such as are called by the Italians *bugne*, and may be seen employed in many buildings at Rome. This regular masonry rests upon substructions of a totally different character, being composed of massive and very irregular trapezoidal blocks of hard limestone, put together with a marked approach indeed to a horizontal structure, but not

are as old as the first construction of the roads to which they belong, the probability is decidedly the other way; and if we are to refer (with Bunsen and Canina, *Ann. d. Ist.* T. IX. p. 53) the celebrated substructions of the Appian way at Aricia to Caius Gracchus, it seems very probable that those of the same road beyond Terracina may belong to the same period.

[35] Livy, lib. x. c. 1.

[36] It should be observed that travertine was not here, as at Rome, a material brought from a distance, being supplied in abundance by the plain immediately at the foot of the hill on which Ferentino stands.

more than is frequently seen in walls that are in their general style decidedly polygonal, in those for instance of Ferentino itself, and in many parts of those of Norba. No antiquarian certainly would have hesitated to refer the upper and lower parts of this structure to widely different periods, had it not been for an inscription in large and deeply-cut characters, which is found on two faces of the building, and which distinctly records that *the whole* of the wall and substruction was erected *from the ground* upwards by the same magistrates. The date of the inscription, unfortunately, cannot be ascertained, but from the characters and orthography, it certainly cannot be referred to an earlier period than the seventh century of Rome[37].

With these clear proofs then that the polygonal style of masonry, which has been considered distinctive of the early Pelasgic inhabitants of Italy, was employed by the Romans themselves, and that down to the later ages of the republic, it may be reasonably asked whether many other monuments of this character may not be referable to the same people, and to a comparatively late period. That this should be capable of proof in a few instances only is not to be wondered at when we consider the nature of the ruins that remain to us; but even those few instances are sufficient to raise a doubt at least concerning many of the others. Why should the walls that surround the *town* of Ferentino, for instance, be referred to the ancient Hernicans, or to some still more ancient race that had passed away before the Hernicans themselves came into the

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[37] This inscription (which has been already published by M. Bunsen, *Ann. dell' Ist. Archeol.* T. VI. p. 144) is as follows:—

A · HIRTIVS · A · F · M · LOLLIVS · C · F · CES · FVNDAMENTA · MVROSQVE · AE · SOLO · FACIVNDA · COERAVERE · EIDEMQVE · PROBAVERE · IN · TERRAM · FVNDAMENTVM · EST · PEDES · ALTVM · XXXIII · IN · TERRAM · AD · IDEM · EXEMPLVM · QVOD · SVPRA · TERRAM · SILICI.

The *silex* here mentioned is undoubtedly the hard limestone that forms the lower part of these substructions: the word, though properly designating the hard basaltic lava universally employed for paving the ancient roads near Rome, being applied also by Pliny and others (like *macigno* in modern Italian) to any very hard kind of stone. I may observe by the way, that this same variety of limestone was employed by the Romans for the purpose of paving their roads where the basalt was not at hand, as may be seen by the remains of the ancient pavement at many spots on the Via Valeria, especially in crossing the mountain pass between Carsoli and Tagliacozzo.

country, when we find the very same style of masonry employed in the citadel two centuries after they had fallen under the Roman yoke? And if the walls of Ferentino be of comparatively recent origin, who shall assure us that those of the neighbouring Alatri, or even its massive citadel itself, had been erected many ages earlier? Again, it may be asked, when we find walls of large but well fitted polygonal blocks forming part of the substructions that support the temple of Fortune at Præneste, what proof have we that these were erected prior to the time of Sylla, to whom we know that that temple was indebted for its rebuilding and enlargement on a scale of such magnificence that the whole modern town of Palestrina is built on its ruins[38]? Such substructions would but correspond (allowing for the difference of materials) with those of the Tabularium at Rome, constructed by Lutatius Catulus a few years later.

I am far from wishing to urge this argument to an extreme, or to deny that the polygonal structures of central Italy may in many instances claim a respectable, in some perhaps a very remote, antiquity: but it appears to me certain that we are not entitled to assume this very ancient date for all cases where such a mode of building is found; and that we must be guided in great measure by probabilities deducible from historical evidence, or in the absence of such, be content to suspend our judgment altogether. It is indeed very remarkable if we come to investigate this historical evidence, scanty as it unfortunately is, how often it appears to point to conclusions altogether at variance with the views commonly entertained upon this subject.

It would greatly exceed my present limits to work out this point in the necessary details in relation to all the cities where Cyclopean walls exist, and for many of them we are quite without the requisite historical data. I shall therefore only attempt to discuss the question with regard to a few of those cities where the existing remains are the most remarkable, or the arguments against their very early origin appear to be the strongest.

Few, if any, of the ancient cities of Italy present more striking specimens of massive polygonal constructions, or have

[38] For this suggestion (which is completely in accordance with my own observations) I am indebted to a letter of the Avvocato Fea, published in the *Memorie dell' Istituto Archeologico*, Vol. I. p. 90.

been more frequently cited as examples of this style, in its most gigantic character, than Signia and Norba[39]; yet in both these cases there are strong arguments to render it probable that, if not the cities themselves, at least their massive fortifications, are of a date long subsequent to the foundation of Rome. And it may be observed, that we do not find, in regard to either of these places, any trace of those traditions referring their foundation to heroic or mythical personages, such as exist respecting Cora, Tusculum, Præneste, and many other cities; and which, however little we may be disposed to receive them literally as historical facts, must be admitted as some evidence of a traditional belief in their high antiquity.

On the contrary we not only find it stated that Signia was a Roman colony, sent out in the time of the latter Tarquin, but the *foundation* of the city is expressly mentioned to have then occurred[40]. And though it appears to me impossible to receive as historically true the statement that would refer this foundation to the mere casual establishment of a military force in winter quarters in the neighbourhood, yet the very invention of such a legend would clearly seem to imply that there was no record of its previous existence; yet this could hardly have been the case with a city powerful enough to have erected such massive and extensive fortifications, and which must necessarily, from the existence of those defences, combined with its natural strength of position, have been one of the most im-

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[39] The remains of Norba have been described in detail in the *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico* (Tom. I. p. 60-78), and an excellent plan, as well as several views of them, are given in the plates to the same work (*Mon.* T. 1-3). Those of Segni have not been illustrated with the same minuteness, but a brief account of them, and a view of one of the gates, will be found in the same volume. Very accurate representations of some of the most striking portions of the walls, as well as the gates of both one city and the other, are also given by Dodwell in his *Views of Cyclopean Remains*, Pl. 72-87.

[40] Livy I. 56, Dionysius IV. 63. As I observe that M. Bunsen (*Ann. d. Ist.* b. VI. p. 143) seems disposed to receive the statement of Dionysius literally, I may state briefly my reasons for rejecting it. These are, first, that the works themselves strike me as decidedly on too great a scale to have been erected even in part as a mere temporary defence; secondly, the improbability that a large body of troops should, at so early a period, have passed the winter on actual service at all; thirdly, that Dionysius, if he be received as our authority for this fact, expressly says that they spent the winter *in the plain* (χειμασάντων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν); and lastly, that it seems incredible, that if forced to remain through the winter, they should have taken up their quarters on a lofty, bleak, and barren mountain, like that on which Segni now stands, where the difficulty of procuring provisions must have been immense.

portant strongholds in the country. The particular period to which the Roman colony is referred, is also strongly in favour of there being some historical foundation for the fact; as it was precisely that when the power or at least the influence of the Roman monarchy was most widely extended, and when there is therefore no intrinsic improbability in the supposition that colonies were established by them at such remote points as Signia and Circeii[41]. It is hardly necessary to remark that both these colonies must have been lost by the Romans after the fall of the monarchs, and were not recovered by them until long afterwards. The statement that a fresh colony was sent to Signia in the same year that Tarquin died at Cumæ (U.C. 258[42]) is more difficult of explanation, consistently with what we know of the state of the Roman power at that period; but in no part of the Roman history is the chronology more hopelessly confused than in the first half century after the expulsion of the kings: and the sending out of this additional supply of colonists becomes probable enough if referred either to the short space during which the dependent allies of the Roman monarch had not yet shaken off the yoke of the republic, or to a period only a few years later than the date assigned to it, so as to have taken place after the league concluded by Cassius with the Latins and Hernicans. Of the subsequent history of Signia we know little, but that little clearly points it out as a place of some consequence, a Roman colony and a fortress; and there still exist sufficient remains to prove that it continued to be a town of consideration even in imperial times[43].

With regard to Norba, we find almost an equal want of all information that would trace it back to a very early period; it is indeed called by Dionysius "a considerable city of the Latins[44];" but it may well be doubted how far this statement relates to its condition before it became a Roman colony: a more important proof is that its name occurs in the list of the

[41] The occurrence of polygonal remains at Circeii, said to have been founded at the same time with Signia, accords well with the supposition of the correctness of both statements.

[42] Eodem anno Signia colonia quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Liv. II. 1. These words seem to imply, however, that nothing more then took place than the sending out an additional number of colonists, and we must therefore refer to the original colony the erection of the walls and gates which are the immediate subject of our inquiry.

[43] See Appendix, p. 186.

[44] Νώρβαν πόλιν, ἥ ἐστι τοῦ Λατίνων ἔθνους οὐκ ἀφανής. Dionys. VII. 13.

thirty Latin cities with whom the celebrated league of Sp. Cassius was concluded[45]; yet it is only two years after that league (U.C. 263) that we find a colony sent thither, "to be the citadel of the Pomptine marshes," as Livy expresses it[46]. These words would certainly seem to imply not only that Norba was thenceforth the great stronghold of that country, but that it then became so; and we may therefore reasonably infer that the fortifications either had previously no existence, or were at least materially strengthened at that time.

The date assigned to the sending forth of this colony also bears internal marks of probability. It is precisely one at which the circumstances of the times would render it likely that the Romans and Latins should have combined to erect a strong fortress in this neighbourhood, as a barrier against the increasing power of the Volscians[47]. That people, whose arms soon afterwards became so formidable both to Latins and Romans, was already pressing on from the south, and to oppose their advance, together with that of their allies and kinsmen the Æquians, was undoubtedly one of the main objects of the league with the Latins, as well as of that concluded a few years later with the Hernicans.

As a Roman colony, Norba appears to have continued to be regarded as one of the strongest fortresses in that part of Italy, until it became, after the fall of Præneste, the last stronghold of the followers of Marius, and, after a protracted siege, was taken by Lepidus, not by force, but by treachery[48]. The town was then burnt, and it is probable that its fortifications were in great part dismantled; that they were not destroyed we have ample proof in the gigantic remains of them still visible: but it is especially worthy of note that these are accompanied by

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[45] It is indeed only introduced there by a conjectural emendation of our received text of Dionysius (v. 61); but this correction, which has been adopted both by Niebuhr and Arnold, appears to me quite unquestionable.

[46] Norbæ in montes novam coloniam, *quæ arx in Pomptino esset*, miserunt. Liv. II. 34. The appropriateness of this expression cannot but strike any one who has looked down from the deserted heights of Norba upon the plain below.

[47] It is scarcely necessary to observe, that it is in this manner that we must understand the colony to have been sent out, the Romans and Latins furnishing respectively an equal number of colonists. To suppose the Romans *alone* to have sent the colony (as Livy undoubtedly did) would be absurd, at a time when the Latins, their equal and independent allies, possessed all the neighbouring country. In like manner, Niebuhr has shewn that the colony sent to Antium in 287 U.C., must have been composed of Romans, Latins, and Hernicans. *Röm. Gesch.* II. p. 48 (p. 46, Eng. trans. 3rd ed.).

[48] Appian, *De Bel. Civil.* I. c. 94.

no ruins of a later date; and if we refuse to ascribe any part of the existing polygonal walls to the Roman colony, we are struck with the remarkable fact, that in that case not a vestige of that colony is to be found, although we have proof of its importance as a place of strength during so long a period. This negative argument would be indeed of little value in many other cases, but when we look at the striking desolation of the present site of Norba, a desolation which we know to have commenced at least early in the middle ages[49], and which has very probably existed ever since the time of Sylla[50], it seems most unlikely that any considerable ruins should have altogether disappeared from the spot. The walls indeed present considerable differences of construction, some parts of them being so rude as to approximate to the first style of Cyclopean architecture, while others are composed principally of trapezoidal blocks, and exhibit a marked tendency to horizontal arrangement[51]. That these differences result from subsequent alterations and restorations, and are a proof that the walls are not all of the same period, a careful examination of the ruins

[49] This is shewn by the foundation of two other towns in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient city, one of which retained its name, now slightly corrupted into Norma. This place, situated on a neighbouring hill, about half-a-mile south of the Roman town, and now a miserable village, was an episcopal see as early as the tenth century. The other town, Ninfa, was situated at the foot of the mountain, and appears from the ruins still existing to have been once a place of some importance, but these ruins are now as uninhabited and desolate as those of the Cyclopean city above them.

[50] The name of Norba (or Norbe as it stands in Brotier's edition) occurs in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* III. c. 9) among the names of the Latin cities, of which no trace was to be found in his day; but it seems probable that this name, as well as the two that immediately precede and follow it in the list (Amitinum and Sulmo) is corrupt, as we find the Norbani enumerated by him elsewhere among the inhabitants of Latium, where evidently he is speaking only of such as existed in his time. No mention is, however, made of it by Strabo, where he enumerates all the neighbouring towns; and it seems probable that it was never rebuilt after it was burnt to the ground at the time of its capture by Lepidus (Appian, v. 1).

[51] I may here observe that the rudest parts are uniformly those built of the smallest blocks, while, on the contrary, the most gigantic masses are employed in those portions of the walls where the stones are most accurately fitted together, and which display the nearest approach to a regular arrangement. They are particularly striking in the great tower or bastion on the east side of the city, and in the neighbourhood of the Porta Grande. The wall extending from the last-mentioned gate to the southern angle of the city is above thirty feet in height, and singularly well preserved: but immediately after turning round this angle, a remarkable instance may be observed of a change from one style to another, the masonry of very large and well-fitted blocks being abruptly succeeded by a ruder and more irregular wall, built of much smaller stones.

themselves can leave no doubt; but as they are all alike of the so called Cyclopean structure, it seems difficult to admit any part of them to be of Roman work, without allowing that the whole *may* be so.

Whatever degree of weight may be attached to the historical arguments here brought forward in favour of the dates assigned to Signia and Norba separately, it cannot but be allowed that they acquire increased value when taken together, from the fact that they would thus refer to very nearly the same period, the monuments of two cities which present so striking a similarity as those in question. And if the massive and gigantic structure of these remains be urged as a proof of their remote origin, it may well be asked, in the case of Signia at least, what improbability there is in attributing the erection of works of such a character to the same period as witnessed the construction of the Cloaca Maxima at Rome? One other argument, indeed, that may be brought forward against this supposition requires to be noticed, I mean the apparent ignorance of the principle of the arch displayed in the gates of Signia, while the monument at Rome just alluded to, affords so striking a proof of its being well known in the time of Tarquin. The objection is certainly not without force, but it appears to me that it may be reasonably explained by the same stubborn and intractable nature of the material here employed, when compared with the soft tufo of Rome, as compelled the builders to adopt, in the first instance, the polygonal style instead of the horizontal one. To have wrought the hard limestone of the Apennines into massive blocks of the requisite shape and regularity for the construction of arched gateways would have been a work of great labour; and it is by no means improbable that such structures were then either altogether new, or at least had not been brought into general use. At Norba, the only remaining gates are very small ones, which being not above three or four feet wide, have the lintels naturally composed of single blocks of stone. The principal entrances appear to have been too wide to admit of any attempt to cover them over either by an arch or otherwise.

We are almost entirely without the information necessary to apply a similar investigation to the remaining cities in the neighbourhood of Signia and Norba. Some reasons have already been mentioned, which would lead us to refer the walls of Ferentinum also to a late period: and it may be remarked

in general of that city, as well as Alatrium and Verulæ, that almost all the towns on the right and left of the Via Latina are said by Strabo to have been founded by the Romans[52], an assertion which we can hardly admit in its full extent, but which is certainly an argument against their having been in more ancient times such great and powerful cities as the remains of their walls have been supposed to testify. And if these other cities of the Hernicans were so strongly fortified, it is at least singular that no trace of such defences is to be found at Anagnia, which we know to have been by far the most important of them all, and the acknowledged head of their confederacy[53].

Another remarkable specimen of the same style of fortification is to be found in the remains of Alba Fucensis, now commonly called Alba dei Marsi, though it was certainly in ancient times an Æquian and not a Marsic city[54]. The walls of this place have attracted much less notice than those of Signia, Norba, and others, partly perhaps in consequence of their lying at a distance from those parts of Italy commonly visited, but partly also, from their less imposing character[55]. Yet the remains of polygonal constructions are extensive and well preserved: and have been often referred to as among the best specimens of the Cyclopean or Pelasgic style. That some of those works of fortification in which polygonal masses are here employed,

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[52] Πλεῖσται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Λατίνῃ καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα, ἐν τῇ Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Αἴκων καὶ Οὐόλσκων ἱδρυμέναι, Ῥωμαίων δ' εἰσὶ κτίσματα. Strabo v. cap. 3. It must be confessed that this passage, by its generality, proves too much: of several of these cities, Cora for instance, Præneste and Anagnia, we know that they were of very ancient date, and of importance in early times. It may also be suspected that Strabo, in some instances at least, referred merely to the fact of their being Roman *colonies*, several of which, Alatrium in particular (Frontin. *De Coloniis*, p. 136), were not sent out until a very late period.

[53] See Livy IX. 42, Niebuhr, T. II. p. 98 (p. 86, Eng. trans. 3rd ed.). I observe with surprise that Anagnia is mentioned by Gell (*Top. R.* Vol. II. p. 159) as having walls of the Pelasgic style. I saw no traces of such when I visited the city, nor are they alluded to in the lists of M. Gerhard and Petit Radel.

[54] Livy, X. 1; Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* Vol. III. p. 308 (Vol. III. p. 263, Eng. trans.).

[55] The walls of Alba appear to have been first discovered by Mr. Fox (see *Ann. d. Ist. Arch.* T. I. p. 186). They have since, together with the other remains of antiquity existing at the same place, been fully described and illustrated by an Italian architect of the name of Promis (*Antichità di Alba Fucense*, 8vo. Roma, 1836). Having visited the spot myself, and carefully examined the walls, I can bear testimony to the accuracy of his descriptions, though I dissent from his conclusions in regard to their age.

must be undoubtedly of Roman construction, has been already pointed out; but it may well be deemed that those very portions, by the differences of their style, furnish a strong argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the rest. I am sensible, therefore, that it may appear at first paradoxical to refer all the polygonal walls now remaining at Alba to so late a period as the fifth century of Rome. Yet it seems difficult to resist this conclusion, if we look at such historical evidence as we possess on the subject. "Alba," says Niebuhr[56], "is a Cyclopean town, and was regarded as one of the strongest places in Italy." That it was so *after* its occupation and fortification by the Roman colony in the year 449 is unquestionable, but far from our finding any evidence of its having been of equal importance prior to that period, its name is never once mentioned at an earlier date. We are not even told at what time it fell under the Roman yoke, but there can be little or no doubt that it must have been in the year 448, when the Æquians were finally reduced to subjection, and the whole nation almost utterly destroyed[57]. But if so, can we believe that one of the strongest fortresses in Italy was included among the forty-one towns that were besieged and taken by the consul Sempronius within fifty days[58]? and that so little was it distinguished from the others by its longer or more obstinate resistance, that its fall was not thought worthy even of a passing notice? The Romans, indeed, seem to have been well aware of its importance, and immediately occupied it with a powerful colony of not less than six thousand men: as soon as they had done so the Æquians became aware that this fortress commanded all the neighbouring country like a citadel, and would thenceforth hold them in complete subjection; and they endeavoured, when too late, to expel the newly established colonists[59]. All this relation appears strongly to lead to the idea that Alba was, before the Roman conquest, no more than one of the petty Æquian towns, perhaps no larger than the wretched village that still retains its name; but that the Romans were struck with its commanding position, and determined at once to found

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[56] *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. III. p. 312 (Vol. III. p. 266, Eng. trans.).

[57] Nomen Æquorum prope ad internecionem deletum. Liv. IX. 45.

[58] Ad singulas urbes circumferendo bellum, unum et quadraginta oppida intra dies quinquaginta omnia oppugnando ceperunt: quorum pleraque diruta atque incensa. Liv. ibid.

[59] Liv. X. 1.

here a considerable town and a strong fortress, which should hold all the neighbouring tribes in awe, and secure to them the possession of the fertile plains around the Lago di Fucino. This supposition derives the most direct support from the express statement of Appian, that the Romans, *having fortified a small town as a stronghold against the Æquians*, had called it after the name of their parent city, Alba[60]. In opposition to an explicit testimony of this kind, so strongly confirmed by internal probability, it requires far more decisive evidence than that of the monuments in question to lead us to refer them to a more ancient epoch[61].

I have already mentioned that the walls of Alba are less massive than those either of Segni or Norba; it may be added, that no part of them exhibits such a degree of rudeness as is observable in some portions of the latter. I should not be disposed to attach too much importance to such differences of style, but it must be admitted that this evidence, so far as it goes, is in direct accordance with the view of the subject here taken, which would allow an interval of nearly two centuries between the dates of their erection. Not having personally examined any of the numerous remains of polygonal walls which exist in the Cicolano and the valleys between Alba and Rieti, I will not enter into any inquiry with regard to their date, merely observing, that according to the accounts of them given by Dodwell and others[62], they would appear to indicate the existence of a number of small towns, such as we may suppose those of the Æquians to have been, in accordance with the statement of Livy already referred to. Probably this people had retained much the same manners as those

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[60] *Μικρόν τι πολίχνιον Ρωμαῖοί ποτε ἐπιτειχίζοντες Αἰκανοῖς, Ἄλβην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν.* Appian, *De Bell. Annibal.* VII. c. 39.

[61] The peculiar construction of that part of the walls first adverted to must, I think, be received as decisive evidence of its belonging to a different and later age than the rest; but it may be observed that the portion in which it occurs is a kind of outwork in advance of the regular circuit of the walls, this part of the town being defended by a *triple* line of fortifications. This outer line of defence, which is further distinguished from the ordinary walls by being strengthened with towers, may obviously have been added long after the rest; and as we find Alba still alluded to as a place of strength after the death of Cæsar (Appian, de B.C. III. c. 45. 47), such additional outworks may have been erected at any period between that date and the original foundation of the colony.

[62] *Bullet. dell' Ist.* 1831, p. 43; *Ann. dell' Ist.* T. VI. p. 111, &c.

ascribed to them by Virgil[63], and made use of these little mountain fastnesses as places of refuge after their plundering excursions. The extensive walls of Alba, on the contrary, would point to the existence of a large, as well as strongly fortified, town, such as would obviously be required for the six thousand Roman colonists, but can hardly be supposed to have existed previously, without playing an important part in the country, and attracting the direct notice of historians at the time of its conquest[64].

In the preceding observations, I have purposely refrained from citing an authority which appears at first sight strongly to support the views I have been endeavouring to establish: I mean that of the fragment, or rather collection of fragments, "De Coloniis," generally ascribed to Frontinus. In the enumeration of the colonies sent forth by the Romans—many of

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[63] Horrida præcipue cui gens, assuetaque multo
Venatu nemorum, duris Æquicula glebis.
Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes
Convectare juvat prædas et vivere rapto.
Æn. VII. 749.

The name of Cicolano still applied to this mountain district is evidently corrupted from *Æquiculanum*.

[64] The only other remains of the polygonal style which I myself visited in this part of Italy were those near Lugo, on the Lago di Fucino, the ancient Lucus Angitiæ. Here there is a wall of well-fitted blocks, mostly trapezoidal, and not of very great size, but certainly not distinguishable in these respects from many others of the supposed Pelasgic vestiges. It appears to me probable, however, both from the unusually small thickness of this wall, and from its position directly under an abrupt hill of limestone, which would have completely commanded the space enclosed by it, that it was not a work of fortification at all; and it seems a natural conjecture that it was merely the boundary wall of the sacred grove from which the place derived its name. In the church of the modern village of Lugo I copied the following inscription, which has been already published by Nibby, in his *Viaggio Antiquario*, T. I. p. 211, and from him by Orelli, No. 115, but which I here give according to my own copy, on account of its bearing upon my present subject:—

SEX · PACCIVSI....
ET · SEX · PACCIVSIA.. —
QVINQVE MVRVMVEI....
CONSVMTVMASOLOREST.
EXP · P · ANGITIAE.

The third line is evidently to be filled up with VETVST. for *vetustate*. Who shall assure us that the wall of which we now see the remains is not the very one the erection of which was thought worthy to be thus commemorated, and which appears to have replaced one of a similar construction, but of more ancient date? Such a supposition appears to me at least far more reasonable than to refer it to a Pelasgian race which had preceded the Æquians and Marsians in this part of the country. It may be added that as Angitia appears to have been a Marsian, that is to say a Sabellian divinity—she can hardly have been worshipped by the Pelasgians; and this difficulty is not removed, even if it be maintained that the wall now remaining belonged to the town and not the temple, as the former unquestionably grew up only in consequence of the latter.

which, it is hardly necessary to observe, were not new settlements, but merely bands of emigrants sent forth to occupy towns long established, and either to recruit or to command the existing population—a considerable number are distinguished from the rest by the epithet "surrounded by a wall," *muro ducta colonia.* This expression would certainly *primâ facie* seem to imply that the colonies thus designated were fortified with walls at the time of their establishment, and thus to exclude the idea of their having previously possessed defences of such a massive character as those now existing. And on this view of the case, it would appear an important corroboration of the arguments already brought forward, that among the towns to which we find this distinctive epithet applied, there occur the names of Signia, Alatrium, Verulæ, Ferentinum, Setia, Aquinum, and several others, where we find the remains of walls usually ascribed to a Pelasgic origin. I must candidly confess, however, that after a careful examination of the authority in question, I cannot bring myself to attach any weight to its testimony. The little tract (if it deserve to be so called) that bears the name of Frontinus, is not only demonstrably not the work of that author[65], but it cannot, I conceive, be regarded as such an extract or epitome of his work as has in many instances preserved to us the substance of valuable authorities, when in their original form they have been totally lost. It would be difficult to conceive a stranger farrago of heterogeneous materials than this so-called treatise, or one bearing more unequivocal marks both of carelessness and ignorance on the part of the compiler, whoever he may have been. That it may contain notices of real value, derived either from a work on the same subject by Frontinus himself, or from that of the imperial antiquarian Claudius, I have little doubt; but it would require the sagacity of a Niebuhr to sift these grains of historic truth out of the mass of chaff: and it certainly does not seem to me safe to rely on its authority, in its present state, for any individual fact[66].

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[65] See Polenus in *Vitâ Frontini*, p. 36, ed. Bipont; Goesius, *Antiquitates Agrariæ*, p. 158.

[66] See the remarks of the last editor of this little tract, Goesius (Notæ in *Script. Rei Agrariæ*, p. 156, ed. Amstel. 1674): "Hæc me tenet sententia, ut existimem nihil hic nos genuini habere, quod scripserit Frontinus, sed potius tum ex illo tum ex aliis excerpta, male et negligenter congesta ab homine indocto et harum rerum plane ignaro." A few

It is singular that the force of this last authority, and indeed that of the evidence generally, which can be brought forward in support of the fact that the cities last referred to were first built, or at least first fortified, by the Romans, is most fully admitted by Sir W. Gell, who is nevertheless so wedded to the Pelasgian theory as to regard the employment of this style of construction by the Romans as owing to their Pelasgic extraction. Yet, even if we admit this extraction in a far greater degree than the researches of modern scholars would render probable, the Romans could have had no opportunity of building in this style for more than two centuries after the foundation of the city, any more than could their supposed Pelasgic ancestors for the two or three centuries previous to that event, during which they had been settled in the volcanic plains of the Campagna; almost time enough, one would have thought, to have forgotten the peculiar mode of building adopted by their forefathers. It appears to me far more reasonable to suppose that the Romans, when they came to establish colonies on the limestone hills of the Apennines, constructed their walls of polygonal blocks, simply because they could not well build them of any thing else; the hard limestone was an excellent material and close at hand; but its nature rendered it all but impossible to reduce into masses of that more regular form which they had been accustomed to employ in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. That the same causes would have operated with whatever people established themselves in regions of a similar physical character appears most probable; and therefore, when we find constructions of this style in regions occupied by Sabellian and Oscan races, we can hardly hesitate to ascribe them to those tribes, in all cases where there are no historical grounds for referring them to their Roman conquerors. Even if the first introduction into Italy of the polygonal style be assigned to the Pelasgians—a point of which there exists no historical evidence whatever, but which is certainly rendered probable by the abundance of such remains on the opposite side of the Adriatic, especially in Epirus—it seems incredible that the example should not have been imitated by all the neighbouring tribes, wherever the materials were found

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passages which seem to be of a somewhat better stamp than the rest, and may perhaps be derived from Frontinus, relate exclusively to the division and assignment of the lands of certain colonies, and here we meet with no mention of the walls, nor does the peculiar phrase "muro ducta" occur.

to afford facilities for such a mode of construction, in preference to any other.

Before quitting the subject of these polygonal remains, it may be as well to advert briefly to those cases where we find this style of construction applied to other purposes than those of walls of defence. And though we are unfortunately still more destitute of any positive testimony concerning the age of such remains than in the case of the fortifications of cities, it must be at least admitted that no argument can be derived from them unfavourable to the conclusions that I have endeavoured to establish. It has been already pointed out that the Romans employed this mode of building in the substructions of their great roads, as late at least as the fifth century of the city, and in all probability at a period long subsequent. When therefore we find a similar style made use of in the substructions or basements which support the temples at Segni and Alba Fucense, it must not be hastily inferred that these polygonal works are necessarily far older than the buildings they support, though the latter being constructed of softer materials present a very different and much more regular style. It cannot be denied, on the other hand, that the fondness for retaining the spot once consecrated to religious purposes, observable in so many instances, renders it far from improbable that the Roman temples in question may have replaced others of a more ancient date and character, just in the same manner as their own walls now form part of those of Christian churches. The foundations therefore *may* have belonged originally to these more ancient temples; but so far as a judgment can be formed concerning them from the style of their construction, I should have no hesitation in believing them to be contemporary with the buildings they support[67]. Those at Segni in particular have nothing whatever Cyclopean in their character in the sense usually attached to that term;

[67] The temple at Segni is built of tufo, and in its general style of construction resembles those of Juno at Gabii and of Diana at Aricia; but the masonry is more regular, the correspondence of the joints in the alternate courses being strictly observed. This is not the case in that at Alba, which is built of a soft limestone found in the neighbourhood, but quite distinct from that used for the polygonal substructions (Promis, *Ant. di Alba*, p. 97). The temples at Gabii and Aricia, which have been commonly regarded as very ancient, have been shewn by Abeken (*Ann. d. Ist.* T. XII.), to be referable to the later ages of the Roman republic, and there seems no reason for assigning those of Alba or Segni to an earlier period.

they are indeed of polygonal forms, but by no means of very large size, and put together with much skill and care, so as to form three successive ledges, rising like steps one above the other, but not exceeding in the whole the height of ten or twelve feet. Substructions of polygonal, but much more massive blocks, occur also on the hill close to Civitella (between Subiaco and Olevano), in a situation where they can hardly have been designed for any other purpose than to support a temple, which would have directly fronted the town. As however all traces of the superstructure have disappeared, and we have no clue to the history, or even to the ancient name of Civitella, it would be idle to speculate on the probable date of these ruins. Similar substructions occur in such numbers over the whole site of the ancient Norba, that it seems difficult to suppose them all to have served to support temples or other public buildings, at the same time that we can hardly conceive such massive works to have been designed merely to uphold private houses, at least in a place which could never have been the residence of the great and luxurious. With regard to these structures, the question as to the period of their erection cannot be separated from that relative to the walls of the same city. The only remaining instances which may be thought to throw any light upon the points under discussion are those mentioned by Sir W. Gell, in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, where walls of the polygonal style are found supporting or united with the remains of Roman villas. Not having myself examined any of these, I must refrain from expressing a decided opinion upon the subject; but they do not seem to afford any conclusive evidence that the polygonal constructions are coeval with the reticulated walls with which they are associated[68].

I have dwelt so much at length upon the polygonal style of Cyclopean building, as being both that of most frequent occurrence in Italy, and concerning which the most discussion has arisen, that I shall touch but very briefly upon the walls of the third, the supposed Etruscan style. I have already stated my

[68] Figures of some of them are given by Dodwell, Pl. 122-126. The work with which they are associated appears to be in some cases the regular *opus reticulatum*, which came into general use towards the end of the Roman republic, and was universal in the time of Augustus (Vitruvius, lib. II. c. 8); in others, the more ancient *opus incertum*, which is so extensively employed in the principal ancient buildings at Tivoli itself.

reasons for believing that the peculiar character of this style is to be derived simply from the nature of the materials employed, rather than explained by referring it to any particular people or period. This will, I think, sufficiently appear by the mere consideration of the places where it occurs. The walls of Fiesole, Cortona, Volterra, and Populonium, are the most striking specimens of it, and far from being regarded as indicating an improved and consequently later style of architecture, there are few cities in Italy the fortifications of which have so reasonable a claim to a very high antiquity as those just mentioned. On the contrary, at Cosa, which there is much reason to suppose one of the latest of the Etruscan cities[69], the walls (being built of a hard limestone, similar to that of the Apennines, and known in Tuscany by the name of *alvarese*) are excellent specimens of the polygonal style; which is seen also in the walls of Orbetello, a few miles from Cosa, as well as in those of Saturnia, further inland[70]. The remains of Rusellæ, which appear at first sight to present an anomalous case, some portions of them being decidedly polygonal, while the greater part is as regularly horizontal as those of Populonium or Volterra, furnish, on the contrary, the strongest argument in

[69] If Cosa is to be regarded on the authority of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* III. c. 8: Cosa Volcientium a Populo Romano deducta) as a colony or offset of Vulci, it must needs belong to a late period, as Vulci itself did not begin to flourish till after the decline of Tarquinii (see Gerhard, in *Ann. d. Ist.* T. III. p. 101). Otherwise we have no indication of its existence previous to the Roman colony being sent there in 480 U.C. (*Vell. Pat.* I. 14), except that it is mentioned by Virgil (in general certainly no mean antiquarian) among the cities supposed to have sent auxiliaries to Æneas. *Æn.* X. 168.

[70] For the walls of Saturnia, see *Ann. d. Ist. Arch.* T. III. p. 409, tav. E. Of those of Cosa and at Orbetello I have been furnished with notes and drawings made on the spot, through the kindness of Capt. H. E. Napier, R.N., to whom I am also indebted for the interesting fact of the occurrence of both kinds of material, as well as both styles of building in the walls of Rusellæ. If we have little information with regard to Cosa, we have still less in relation to the remains existing at Orbetello: these are regularly polygonal, and strongly resemble those on the hill at Cosa; both are very well preserved. Orbetello has been considered to be the site of Sub Cosa, which is however only known from the Itineraries as a station on the Via Aurelia, and probably never was any thing more. There is assuredly little reason to assume the remains either here or at Cosa itself to be of Etruscan origin, and anterior to the Roman colony. Meanwhile it is highly desirable that this whole neighbourhood should be examined more carefully, and plans as well as views of the ruins published; more especially as I am informed by Captain Napier that there exist very extensive remains of a wall of much ruder construction in the plain below Cosa.

favour of the explanation suggested, the polygonal parts being composed of the hard limestone or *alvarese*, while the rest is built of the stratified sandstone called *macigno;* the same rock of which all the horizontal walls just cited are also constructed. Southward, again, of Cosa and Saturnia, we find neither the polygonal style nor that which is adopted at Fiesole and Volterra: we here reach the volcanic tract, and the soft tufo was employed in masses of more regular form, but of smaller size. Of this description were the walls of Cære, undoubtedly one of the most ancient of the Etruscan cities, and of all the cities of Italy, that of which the Pelasgic origin is the most strongly attested[71]; and those of Tarquinii present, so far as the very slight remains enable one to judge, a similar mode of construction[72]. Those of Veii, again, appear to be more irregular, and to present a closer approach to the older Etruscan style; but in all these cases the portions remaining of the walls are so inconsiderable, that it is difficult to form any secure conclusion. At Falerii, on the contrary, the walls still existing present one of the most perfect specimens extant of ancient fortification[73]: but striking as is the effect produced by these remains from their high state of preservation, and the loneliness of their situation, the first glance is sufficient to shew that they belong to a very different age from any works of undoubted Etruscan origin. The arched gateways, which unquestionably belong to the same period with the walls themselves; the flanking towers at regular intervals; the perfect regularity of the masonry, apparent not only in the courses being evenly horizontal, but the well-cut blocks of tufo regularly disposed, lengthwise and crosswise, in the alternate courses, so as to give the appearance of alternate layers of long and short blocks, just in the same manner as is seen in the substructions of the Tabularium at Rome, and

[71] Gell, *Top. R.* Vol. I. p. 20.

[72] Ibid, Vol. II. p. 373.

[73] These have been described in detail by Gell (*Top. R.* Vol. I. p. 413), as well as in No. III. (p. 332 seq.) of the *Classical Museum*, by Mr. Whalley, in company with whom I visited them in June, 1843. It is a remarkable instance of the danger of trusting to information on these subjects at second hand, that Müller (*Etruscker*, Vol. I. p. 110) has described these walls as "constructed of polygonal blocks of white stone," and considers them, mainly on this ground, as certainly those of the ancient city before its removal by the Romans. The redness of the tufo is as conspicuous as the regularity of the construction, and would certainly lead a distant observer to take them for brick.

other works of the latter part of the republic[74]—all these circumstances conspire to separate these walls by a long interval from those of Volterra, Fiesole, or any other Etruscan cities. Moreover, that striking uniformity of the whole, affording neither any traces of earlier works of the same kind, nor any signs of later repairs or additions, would seem to exclude the idea that these walls were merely erected at a comparatively late period around an ancient and long established city. These inferences, derived from the ruins themselves, are found to coincide, in a remarkable manner, with direct historical testimony. For we find the Faliscans, the inhabitants of the ancient Falerii, after submitting quietly to the Roman yoke for more than 150 years, suddenly breaking out into rebellion, just after the close of the First Punic War (U.C. 514); and on this occasion we are expressly told that, after they were reduced, their ancient city, which was founded on a hill in a strong position, was destroyed, and another was built which was more easy of approach[75]. There can be no question that it is this

[74] We do not indeed know the precise period at which this style of masonry was introduced at Rome; we find it not only in the Tabularium, but in the substructions of the Via Appia at Aricia, referred with much probability to the time of Caius Gracchus; in those of the Ponte di Nona on the Via Gabina, probably of much the same date; and again, though less perfectly, in the substructions of the Capitol, supposed by Nibby to be those erected by Camillus. Much the earliest instance of its adoption would however be the portion of a wall near Santa Balbina at Rome, figured by Gell (*Top. R.* II. p. 405), if we could regard it with that writer as part of the original walls of Servius Tullius—but on this point I entirely coincide with M. Bunsen (*Beschr. v. Rom.* I. p. 152), that there is no satisfactory ground for referring a single stone now existing to those celebrated walls.

[75] *τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Φαλίσκοις ἐπολέμησαν.... ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὄρος ἐρυμνὸν ἱδρυμένη κατεσκάφη. ἑτέρα δὲ ᾠκοδομήθη εὐέφοδος.* Zonaras, VIII. 18. The statements of Zonaras, the only writer who has described this war at any length, are entitled to full credit, as it is well known that in this part of his work he merely epitomized Dion Cassius. The position of the *ancient* Falerii is a much more difficult question, and one that can probably be determined only by careful examination of the neighbouring country. We must not interpret too strictly the expression *ὄρος ἐρυμνόν*: there is no *mountain*, properly speaking, in the neighbourhood, except Soracte, which is of course out of the question; but a strong position like that of Civita Castellana, or Veii, which, though little elevated above the surrounding country, is defended on almost all sides by deep valleys with precipitous banks, would fully answer to the description. The present Falerii, though guarded on one side by a ravine of moderate depth, is perfectly open to attack (*εὐέφοδος*), on the others, and has the appearance, as one approaches it from Ronciglione, of standing quite in a plain. It does not appear that Falerii became at this time a Roman colony, as its name does not

latter city of which the original defences subsist, in all but their original condition, at the present day.

After this clear proof that the particular style of regular masonry observable in the walls of Falerii was of Roman, and not Etruscan, work, it may be asked whether there is any reason to infer that such a mode of building, which may be regarded as the characteristic style of the Roman republic, was in any instance adopted by the Etruscans, to whom it is assigned by Sir W. Gell. The only other cases in which it is found, so far as I am aware, within the limits of Etruria, are those of Nepe and Sutrium[76]; the walls of both which places, though considerably ruder than those of Falerii, are of very similar construction. Now we know little or nothing of the early history of either of these places, until we find them subject to the Roman power: how they became so we are not told—soon after the fall of Veii; but they are both mentioned as among the earliest colonies sent out by Rome, as soon as she began to recover from the Gallic invasion[77]. Thenceforward their names occur frequently in the history of the wars between the Romans and Etruscans, and it is probable that they then became, for the first time, what we afterwards find them, strong fortresses. If therefore we consider the walls now remaining to be coeval with the establishment of these colonies, the date thus assigned to them would harmonize well both with their greater rudeness, when compared with those of Falerii, founded 150 years later; and with their resemblance to the substructions of the Capitol at Rome, referred, with much apparent probability, to the time of Camillus.

The argument just adduced in regard to Nepe and Sutrium, and which applies with still greater force to the case of Alba Fucensis, that, namely, of the apparent insignificance of these

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occur in the list of them given by Livy in the Second Punic War (XXVII. c. 9 and 10), or in Velleius Paterculus; hence the Colonia Junonia Faliscorum mentioned by Frontinus (*de Coloniis*, p. 113), and the existence of which on the spot where these remains are found, is attested by an inscription discovered there (Müller, *Etrusker*, I. p. 111, not.), was of later, probably of imperial, date.

[76] A portion of the walls of Nepe, which I had myself no opportunity of visiting, is represented by Sir W. Gell, *Top. of Rome*, Vol. II. p. 120. Of those of Sutri, I can speak from personal inspection.

[77] Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperunt Sutrium deducta colonia est; et post annum Setina, novemque interjectis annis Nepi. Vell. Pat. lib. I. c. 14.

places before they were conquered by the Romans, and the absence of all mention of such resistance as might be expected if they were then strong fortresses, is capable of a more extensive application; for we are repeatedly struck, in reading the history of the Roman republic, with the important part played by the Latin colonies, as they were called; a chain of well-fortified towns, held by strong garrisons, extending its links over all parts of Italy. This is particularly remarkable during the Second Punic War, when Hannibal did not succeed in making himself master of a single one of these strongholds. Not less conspicuous is the part they play in the Social War, and the civil wars of Sylla and Marius: but we shall seek almost in vain for the operation of a similar cause in the early wars of Rome with the Italian states. How came it, if Italy was then studded with fortresses of so much strength as the existing remains would seem to testify, that so many of them fell under the Roman yoke without a struggle? and that cities which were afterwards able to defy the arms of Hannibal or Sylla, were reduced with so much ease by the consuls of the fifth century that their conquest is not even noticed by the annalists or the Fasti?

It may perhaps be objected to the supposition that the massive walls we now see were, in many instances, erected by the Romans for the defence of their colonies, that we know the cities themselves to have previously existed, and that they could hardly have done so without walls; but that if they had such defences at all, it may reasonably be inferred that these more ancient walls were of a massive character, and could hardly have wholly disappeared. But we have seen that in several instances, such as those of Signia, Circeii, Alba, Cosa, Nepe, and Sutrium, there is either no evidence of the existence of these cities previous to the foundation of the colonies, or at least none that would lead us to suppose them places of any importance. In others, again, it seems not improbable that the natural strength of their situation received but little assistance from art, and that it was not until military science had reached a higher point, that it was thought necessary to surround them with a complete circuit of ramparts. There is every reason to suppose that this was the case with many of the petty cities around Rome, and even with Rome itself in the first ages of its existence; the several hills successively taken in to form the

city constituting at first so many separate fortresses, each requiring but little aid from artificial defences, and only joined together here and there by a wall, a rampart, or a ditch[78]. Ardea may be mentioned as an excellent illustration of this idea: it certainly seems probable that the town, with the exception of the *arx*, now occupied by the modern village, had no walls, and was defended merely by the precipitous banks of tufo, which surround it on all sides, except that one where we find it guarded by a double *agger*[79]. Whether the walls of the *arx* itself be not referable to the Roman colony, rather than to the ancient Rutulian city, I will not attempt to decide; but will merely observe that the specimen of their structure given by Gell[80] would convey a very exaggerated idea of the irregularity of their general style. There is certainly nothing in this that should prevent us from referring them to at least as late a period as those of Nepe and Sutrium[81].

The curious ancient wall, figured by Sir W. Gell[82], which occurs close to the Appian way, and which can certainly have served no other purpose than to enclose a consecrated space of ground, is, of all existing remains in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, that which presents in its irregular construction the nearest approach to the Etruscan style. This circumstance leads me to mention it here: and I cannot do so without taking the opportunity to express my concurrence in the opinion of Gell and Nibby, that we see in this enclosed space the spot hallowed by tradition as that where the combat was fought between the Horatii and Curiatii[83]. That this supposition is

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[78] See Niebuhr in *Beschreibung von Rom.* T. I. p. 112.

[79] See the account given of it by Mr. Whalley, *Class. Mus.* No. III. p. 319 seq.

[80] *Top. of Rome*, Vol. I. p. 174.

[81] It is hardly necessary to observe that *occasional* irregularities in the construction of walls built of large masses of stone are by no means conclusive evidence of a great antiquity. Such may be observed even in works of admitted Roman construction, as well as in Greek edifices long after the period when the regular *isodomon* had come into general use. A striking instance of this may be seen in the masonry of the fort of Hexapylon at Syracuse, which we know to have been built by the elder Dionysius, but which presents irregularities in the arrangement of the large quadrangular blocks of which it is composed, almost similar to those observable in some of the Etruscan walls. See Hughes's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 86. The stones are indeed beautifully fitted together, but this, as has been already observed, is the case also with some of the most massive remains of the polygonal style.

[82] *Top. of Rome*, Vol. I. p. 143.

[83] Horatiorum qua viret sacer campus. *Martial.* III. ep. 47.

altogether irreconcilable with the narrative of Livy seems to me only to prove the antiquity of the popular legend which had so marked it out: and I cannot but look upon this little green field as one of the localities most interesting, from historical association, in all the neighbourhood of Rome.

E. H. Bunbury.

APPENDIX.

Note to p. 168, line 28.

In the above observations concerning the probable date of the Cyclopean remains at Segni, I have not adverted to an article by M. Petit Radel, in the *Annali dell' Istituto Archeologico*, Tom. vi. p. 350-367, in which he vehemently supports the Pelasgic theory, in opposition to the stubborn facts brought forward by Bunsen and Gerhard, particularly in relation to Segni and Ferentino. It does not appear to me that any of his arguments invalidate in the least the conclusions adopted by those distinguished antiquarians, and which I have been endeavouring to maintain. M. Gerhard was undoubtedly guilty of a *verbal* inaccuracy in stating that there existed no other constructions in tufo at Segni than the Piscina, for there are in fact not a few remains, both in tufo and travertine, evidently of Roman origin, and probably of late date; but it is not the less true that there are no such remains as could be referred to the walls erected by the Roman colony under Tarquin, even if we could admit the unreasonable supposition that those colonists were likely to have incurred the vast labour and expense of bringing up tufo to the top of a mountain, in order to build their walls with it, when a much better material was found on the very spot where they wanted it. The attempt of M. Petit Radel, in the same article, to invalidate the evidence afforded by the substructions of the *arx* at Ferentino, appears to me still more futile. From the very nature of the case, evidence absolutely conclusive as to the dates of such monuments must be of rare occurrence; but the uncompromising advocates of the Pelasgian hypothesis appear entirely to forget that it is after all but a *hypothesis*, and that there is no *conclusive evidence* in any one instance of the Pelasgian origin of the monuments under consideration.

E. H. B.

XIII.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HORATIAN POEMS.

It is proposed in the following pages to inquire into one or two points respecting the dates of Horace's poems. That in studying his works much benefit may be derived from a knowledge of the order in which they were written, has been universally admitted. No poet of antiquity, or even, perhaps, of modern times, has recorded more particulars respecting the prominent events of his life. Hence an acquaintance with the chronological order of his poems not only throws light upon them, but affords a kind of psychological study, in which we may view the poet, according to the natural progress of the mind from youth to maturity; and as influenced by the course of external circumstances. This frequent allusion to his own affairs might expose him to a charge of vanity and egotism, were it not for the hearty sympathy which he is always ready to bestow on those of others. The return of a proscribed fellow-soldier, the voyage, the amours, or the death of a friend, become the subjects of his song, as well as his own hopes and passions, successes and disappointments. Hence many clues are afforded to the dates of particular poems; notwithstanding which, however, great diversity of opinion prevails as to the order in which his pieces should be arranged. This remark, indeed, is applicable rather to the scholars of Germany than to those of our own country, where the learned world, especially since the publication of the late Mr. Canon Tate's *Horatius Restitutus*, has to all appearance given its unqualified adherence to the theory of Bentley. As most of the works on Horatian literature published on the continent more or less dissent from that theory, it may be hoped that an attempt to re-open this subject will not be deemed presumptuous or unnecessary. It is impossible for any one to entertain a more profound respect for our great critic than the writer of these pages; nor is he without a due sense of the services rendered to Horace by Mr. Tate, in his amusing and instructive Dissertation. It is well known that the part of Mr. Tate's work, which relates to the chronological question, is merely a developement of Bentley's short remarks on the same subject; and it is therefore with Bentley's theory, as illus-

trated by Mr. Tate, and not with that gentleman's book, that we have here to deal.

That theory shortly is—that Horace wrote and published his different books separately, and in the form in which we now have them, in the following order:—

The First Book of Satires,	between the years of Rome		714. 716.
The Second Book of Satires,	"	"	719. 721.
The Book of Epodes,	"	"	722. 723.
The First Book of Odes,	"	"	724. 726.
The Second Book of Odes,	"	"	728. 729.
The Third Book of Odes,	"	"	730. 731.
The First Book of Epistles,	"	"	734. 735.
The Carmen Sæculare, and the Fourth Book of Odes,	"	"	737. 739.

After these, the Second Book of Epistles and the Ars Poetica, but at what dates uncertain.

In order to avoid all petty and unnecessary cavil, it may be allowed, as Mr. Tate requires, that by these dates Bentley only meant to determine the very *earliest* or *latest* historical allusion discoverable in any of the books; and that he did not mean to say that in the intervals between them, as for instance, between the books of Satires, Horace's pen lay entirely idle. Still, as he holds that Horace published his books consecutively, it is obvious that the *First Book of Satires* must have been finished before 719, a date belonging to the Second Book; and, in like manner, the *First Book of Odes* before the year 728. It may also be allowed that little or no objection can be made to the dates of the *Fourth Book of Odes*, the *Carmen Sæculare*, and the *Epistles*.

Having thus briefly exhibited the Bentleian scheme of chronology, let us proceed to inquire how far it is borne out by evidence drawn from the poems themselves, from the life of Horace attributed to Suetonius, and from the historians.

Amongst the *certainties* of Horace's poetical career is this: that he did not begin to write verses till his return to Rome after the battle of Philippi. For this fact we have his own testimony:—

> Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi
> Decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni
> Et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
> Ut versus facerem. Ep. 2. 2. 49.

The battle of Philippi took place in the autumn of the year 712, Horace being then in his twenty-third year. How long an interval elapsed between his defeat there and his arrival in Rome, we have no means of certainly knowing. That it could not have been quite immediate may be inferred from the circumstance that he had previously to obtain his pardon, as we learn from the following passage in Suetonius: "Bello Philippensi excitus a Marco Bruto Imperatore, Tribunus Militum meruit, victisque partibus, *venia impetrata*, Scriptum Quæstorium comparavit; ac primo Mæcenati, mox Augusto, in gratiam insinuatus, non mediocrem in amborum amicitia locum tenuit[1]." Without this pardon his head would scarcely have been safe at Rome. We learn from Dio (lib. XLVII. c. 49) that the greater part of those who had held any command in the army of Brutus either committed suicide, or were captured and put to death, or escaped to the sea and joined Sextus Pompeius. It must, therefore, have required considerable intercession and negotiation for Horace, a Tribunus Militum, to have procured his pardon. However, not to make unreasonable difficulties, let us adopt Mr. Tate's own period for his return; namely, the spring of the year 713, a space of about six months from the battle of Philippi[2].

It has been suggested by some writer that Horace's object in turning poet was to get on in the world. A subsistence he seems to have procured by means of a clerkship in the treasury, which he had in some way contrived to purchase[3]. To obtain that office must doubtless have been his first employment on his return to Rome; and, situated as he was, with his paternal estate confiscated—probably in the division of lands to the military after the affair of Philippi—this must have been a work of some difficulty and time. So occupied, and with all his anxieties 'de lodice paranda,' he could have had but little leisure or inclination for writing verses; and it may therefore be assumed that he did not commence poet till he was installed in his office. It is important to attend to all these circumstances,

[1] Some authors tell us that Mæcenas was the means of procuring his pardon. But this is not borne out either by Suetonius' *Life*, or by Horace's own account of his introduction to his patron.

[2] Preliminary Dissertation, p. 54 (2nd ed.).

[3] It is singular, however, that in the description of his usual life at Rome (*Sat.* I. 6, III. seqq.) he makes no allusion to his official duties.

in order to fix the probable date of his introduction to Mæcenas.

A passage of great importance for that purpose occurs in the Sixth Satire of the Second Book, v. 40:

> Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus
> Ex quo Mæcenas me cœpit habere suorum
> In numero: duntaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda
> Vellet, iter faciens; et cui concredere nugas
> Hoc genus, Hora quota est? &c.

From these verses we learn that, at the time when they were written, a period of between six and a half and seven years had elapsed since Horace had begun to be the humble friend and dependant of Mæcenas; to accompany him in his rides, and to chat with him on those indifferent topics—the time of day, or whether it was a frost in the morning—which may be safely confided to the ear of an untried friend (quæ rimosa bene deponuntur in aure).

From a passage in the Sixth Satire of the *First* Book, we further learn that a space of nine months had intervened between the poet's first presentation to his patron, and his admission to that distant degree of friendship just described:

> ——— optimus olim
> Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.
> Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus
> (Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)
> Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
> Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
> Sed quod eram narro: respondes (ut tuus est mos)
> Pauca: abeo: et revocas *nono post mense*, jubesque
> Esse in amicorum numero. V. 54 seqq.

These nine months, added to the period designated in the previous quotation, give a space of about seven years and a half between Horace's first introduction to Mæcenas and the date of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book.

These minute calculations may, I fear, seem wearisome and useless; but it will presently be seen that a very material point depends upon them. So sensible was Mr. Tate of this, that he does all in his power to reduce these intervals. Thus he tells us in his Preliminary Dissertation (p. 58):

"The first introduction of Horace to the acquaintance and

favour of Mæcenas, that most memorable of all events in his life, may be placed in B.C. 41 (U.C. 713.):

——— optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc *Varius*, dixere quid essem. 1 Sat. VI. 54, 5:

and perhaps rather late in that year; for some time must be allowed to elapse after his return from Philippi, before Virgil and Varius could well acquire a sufficient knowledge of his genius and his worth, to which they were strangers before."

"But for his *second* visit to Mæcenas, with the latitude of a round number (v. 61, revocas *nono* post mense), we may assign an earlier date to it in B.C. 40, than a strict computation would admit."

We certainly *may* do so if we please; but as Mr. Tate has not furnished us with any arguments why we *should*, the only inference that can be drawn from his suggestion is, that our doing so would be more convenient for his argument. In short, to use a homely phrase, this is where the shoe pinches. It is improbable that Horace, speaking of what Mr. Tate truly calls 'the most memorable of all events in his life,' should have been loose and inaccurate in his dates. On the contrary, he seems to have taken pleasure in recording, with scrupulous minuteness, all the circumstances attending it; which is evident as well from his mentioning the *nono post mense*—an interval no doubt of anxious suspense, and therefore well remembered—as from the passage before quoted from the sixth Satire of the Second Book.

By means of this clipping it is made out that Horace contrived to get introduced to Mæcenas in about eight months after his return to Rome. We are told that he found himself at Rome in the spring of the year 713; and that it was 'rather late' in the same year—say November—that he first entered Mæcenas' doors. Here, then, was a ruined man, and evidently, by his own shewing, a slow and careful writer, cast upon the great city of Rome, who contrives, in that short space of time, not only to get installed in the treasury, but to edit poems of sufficient bulk and merit to attract the attention of Virgil and Varius, and to inspire them with so warm a friendship for the author as to induce them to present him to their common patron! That year in Horace's life, according to Mr. Tate's 'Brief Chronology,' does indeed seem a most extraordinary

one. "In the winter, 42-41, he returns to Rome, having been nearly shipwrecked off Cape Palinurus, becomes acquainted with Virgil and Varius, and is by them introduced to Mæcenas, obtains his patronage, and is admitted to his friendship." Thrice happy Horace! nay, rather four times, or even more, that couldst thus, though at the lowest spoke of Fortune's wheel, and in bad odour at court, from recent political connexions, contrive by such wonderful gyrations to gain in so short a period the intimacy of Cæsar's prime minister—that man so slow and cautious in choosing whom he should admit to his confidence and friendship!

It will not, perhaps, be thought unreasonable to ask a little more time for all this, if it be but some couple of years. And if it can be shewn that the date of the sixth Satire of the Second Book must be brought down lower than Bentley places it by about that period, in order to make it tally with the course of public events, the reader, perhaps, will not be indisposed to grant such an extension.

Jani, in his Life of Horace, *per annos digesta* (which is an abridgment of Masson's), has pointed out that the 55th verse of that Satire

——— quid militibus promissa Triquetra
Prædia Cæsar an est Itala tellure daturus?

refers to the division of lands made by Octavianus amongst his troops after the battle of Actium. In support of that opinion, he refers to the testimony of Dio Cassius, whose words, it must be allowed, are most apposite. They shew that Mæcenas was then Cæsar's vicegerent in Italy, intrusted with all the *arcana imperii*, and invested with power not only to open but to alter any letters which he might address to the senate; they paint the murmurs of the soldiers at being dismissed unrewarded after the battle; their increasing discontents; the return of Cæsar, alarmed at these symptoms, from Greece; and finally, the division of money and lands in Italy amongst those veterans who had followed his fortunes throughout[4]. As the battle of

[4] Οἱ δὲ δὴ συννικήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀφεθέντες, ἡσχαλλον, ἅτε μηδὲν γέρας εὐράμενοι· καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἤρξαντο. καίτοι ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου, ᾧ καὶ τότε ἥ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέτακτο, καταφρονήσωσιν, ὅτι ἴκπευς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε· καὶ τοσάντην γε

Actium was fought in September of the year 723, and as the division of lands took place in the following spring, the most probable inference is, that if this be the division alluded to, the Satire in question was written between these two periods, and before it had been finally determined what lands should be apportioned. Let us fix it towards the close of the year 723. Then, as it has been shewn that a period of seven years and a half had elapsed between its date and Horace's introduction to Mæcenas, the latter event must be placed about the middle of the year 716, or rather more than three years after Horace's return to Rome. It is for the reader to judge whether this be not a more probable space of time than eight months for the poet to gain, by his reputation, the friendship of the most distinguished men of the age.

Bentley, however, will by no means allow that this is the division referred to, but contends that Horace is alluding to the one which took place the year after the victory over Sextus Pompeius in 718. "Illud vero (says he) in Sermone VI, Libri 2—*Quid militibus promissa Triquetra—Prædia Cæsar an est Itala tellure duturus?*—non, ut volunt, ad pugnam Actiacam annumque Flacci XXXV, referendum erat, nec ad Philippensem annumve XXIV: quippe de agrorum divisione hic agitur quæ post Siculam de Pompeio victoriam et Lepidi deditionem, in Campania alibique facta est, anno Flacci XXXI, ut disertis verbis narrat Dio, pp. 456-7, Plutarchus Antonio, p. 941, Paterculus 2.81, et Appianus, p. 1176[5]."

When a poet alludes to topics of this description, it is fair to presume that they formed the conversation of the day at the time when he was writing. He would not refer to events long past, and topics already stale and forgotten, but to those

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ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικήνᾳ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν, ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραφε, προαναγινώσκειν, κἀκ τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο.—Dio. lib. 51, c. 3.

καὶ αὐτῶν (τῶν στρατιωτῶν) ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασι καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε . τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντας ἐξοικίσας, τοῖς μὲν στρατίωταις τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσατο.—Ibid. c. 4.

[5] It may be as well to remark, that Bentley has throughout made Horace a year older than he really was. Thus the years of his age given in the text should be 34, 23, and 30 (See Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, A. XVII. p. 245). The calculation, however, is not at all affected by this, since it proceeds on the years of Rome.

which were actually present to his mind, and which were discussing by the loungers of the market-place. That this was Bentley's own view of the matter is plain from his words above quoted, throughout which he contemplates the passage in question as written in that year of Horace's life which coincided with the respective divisions of lands—'*illud* (that passage) *non ad annum Flacci* XXXV, referendum, &c.' He fixes the passage, therefore, in the year 719, Horace's 30th year; from which, if we deduct seven years and a half for the term of Horace's acquaintance with Mæcenas, that would place his first introduction early in the year 712, or about six months at least before our poet had forestalled the maxim of Hudibras, and flung away his shield at Philippi. This is not a matter of reasoning, but figures, and it is singular that it should never have occurred to Mr. Tate to examine Bentley's calculation; especially as the same argument against it, though in a somewhat different form, had been advanced by Dr. Kirchner, in his Quæstiones Horatianæ, p. 19.

I am fully aware that a method of escape from this has been attempted. Bentley himself would have rejected it; but as it has been recently adopted by M. Zumpt, the author of the well-known grammar, in a short notice of Horace prefixed to a new edition of Heindorf's Satires, it seems entitled to be examined.[6] The loop-hole lies in the five years between the victories over Pompey and Antony. Let us see whether M. Zumpt has been successful in his attempts to escape this way. The following are the greater part of his remarks on the Satire in question:—

"According to the precise testimony of the historians, Mæcenas administered the *præfectura urbis* during the Sicilian war, in the year 36 (U.C. 718), and after the battle of Actium, in the year 30 (724). Neither of these suits. Had it been in the autumn of 36, then Horace would have been the domestic companion of Mæcenas in the beginning of the year 42 (712), when he was still serving in the army of Brutus; since he tells us in the 40th verse, that the seventh year approaching to the eighth—*i. e.* that more than six years and a half are passed—since he entered the family of Mæcenas. On the other

[6] Des Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren erklärt von L. F. Heindorf. Neubearbeitet von F. F. Wüstemann. Mit einer Abhandlung von C. G. Zumpt über das Leben des Horaz, &c. Leipzig, 1843.

hand, the absence of all allusion to the great contest and its decision prevents us from thinking (as all the more recent chronologists do) of Mæcenas's administration of Italy after the battle of Actium. People ask at Rome—*Have you heard nothing of the Daci?* But why should the Daci be alluded to, who were not at that time formidable, whilst the great question respecting Antony and Cleopatra occupied all the world? I place the administration of Mæcenas, and therefore this poem also, in the summer of the year 34 B.C. (720), and have already hinted (p. 12) that Mæcenas administered the affairs of Rome for a short period at other times besides the Sicilian and Actian wars. Let us examine the time a little more narrowly, as it is defined by Horace. First, he briefly paints his troublesome affairs in Rome, when, however, he is either prudently silent or speaks quite indefinitely respecting the real and proper business of his office. He says, for instance—'It is now nearly seven years since I belong to Mæcenas; in all this time I become daily more and more exposed to envy. Is any rumour abroad, folks come to me as enjoying the confidence of the highest personages. Have you heard (they ask) any thing respecting the Daci? Will the veterans have lands assigned to them in Italy or Sicily? Such are the questions put to me, and when I affirm that I am totally ignorant on the subject, people are either surprised or angry.' He who writes in this way draws his instances from a period not too remote, yet by no means from the time present. I am of opinion that the question concerning the Daci relates to the fearful report that Siscia in Pannonia, the frontier port against the Daci, had been lost, together with the twenty-five cohorts which Cæsar had left in garrison there at the end of the campaign, 35 B.C. (719). On this occasion, Appian says (Illyr. 28), that Cæsar rushed in all haste from Rome (ἐξέθορε), in the winter between 35 and 34; whilst Dio more quietly tells us (Lib. 49, 38) that it was after the winter, and when Cæsar was already in Gallia, with the intention of passing over to Britain, but hastily returned towards Illyria. To this conjuncture I refer, Ode 3. 6. 13, *Pæne occupatam seditionibus delevit urbem Dacus;* since Dio Cassius speaks of a revolt of the veterans in that neighbourhood, lib. 39, 34. The affair seemed more alarming than it really was. But that Siscia on the Save was really a fortress against the Daci and Bastarni, and kept occupied as such, we

are told by Appian, Illyr. 22. This precaution denotes intentions on the part of the barbarians of invading Italy, for at that time Cæsar had hardly projected an attack beyond the Danube. Dio Cassius informs us (lib. 51. 22) sub an. 29, that the Daci had *previously* negotiated with Cæsar, but obtaining nothing, had sided with Antony; to whom, however, by reason of their internal dissentions, they had been of no service. Their wishes to locate themselves nearer Italy having been disappointed, they now menaced an invasion. It is true that a war with the Daci was carried on by M. Crassus, when proconsul of Macedonia, in the year 29 (U.C. 725), not 30, as some chronologists assert, see Dio Cass., Lib. 51. 23 seqq. But it is little likely that this was the war meant here by Horace, and in Ode 3. 6. 13, since that war took another direction towards Thrace; but more especially because, after the battle of Actium, there was nothing further to be dreaded. The question concerning the Daci was, then, in the summer of 35 (719), or spring of 34, at the time when the fearful news (*frigidus rumor*) of their approach was spread abroad. The other question, where the veterans should obtain their settlement, must have chiefly excited the curiosity of the speculative in the course of the year 35. After the close of the Sicilian war, in the autumn of 36 (718), a sedition broke out in the army; Cæsar hushed it up by giving the veterans of Mutina their discharge, with a promise of land; others he merely dismissed, but to all he made a present in money. The money, says Dio Cassius (49. 14), he gave immediately, *the land not long afterwards*. This, too, must have required considerable time, as 20,000 veterans (see Appian, B.C. 5. 129) cannot be so easily settled, since it would be necessary, first of all, to buy or negotiate for the lands in Italy. As already observed, however, we are not to assume that the questions were put immediately at the time when the poem was written. Horace only means to adduce examples how, since he has been in the confidence of Mæcenas, he has been pestered when at Rome with questions, suggested either by ungrounded fear or by self-interest. They must be questions relating to the past, yet nevertheless to events not too remote, but such as the reader still remembers."

It should be observed, that M. Zumpt's argument turns, in a great measure, upon a notion of his own; that, as Horace complains in the Satire in question of being detained at Rome

by business, it must have been written at one of those periods during which Mæcenas, in the absence of Octavianus, had the home administration, and when he required Horace's personal attendance and assistance in his capacity of scribe. The assumption, however, that Mæcenas administered the affairs of Rome in the year 720 is entirely gratuitous; yet allowing that he did so, still, if there be any force in the argument, it is just as applicable to the time succeeding the Actian war, when we *are sure* that Mæcenas had the home administration, as to the period of which M. Zumpt has assumed that circumstance.

Whoever takes the trouble to refer to Dio and Appian will see that M. Zumpt has very much magnified the affair of Siscia, in order to suit his hypothesis. And the very lines which he has quoted from Ode 3. 6. 13, and where he has suppressed a very important word, prove that Horace was not alluding to the conjuncture pointed out by M. Zumpt, but, as I have above endeavoured to shew, to that following the Actian war. The lines, in their integrity, run as follows:

> Pæne occupatam seditionibus
> Delevit urbem Dacus *et Æthiops;*

thus indicating the danger of the state from the *combined* attempts of those two nations. Now we learn from Dio (Lib. 51. 22)—as M. Zumpt has himself pointed out—that the Daci, having been unsuccessful in their negotiations with Cæsar, had inclined to the party of Antony; and that some of them having been captured and brought to Rome, were exhibited in a gladiatorial show given after the triumph over Antony and Cleopatra. When M. Zumpt tells us that they had been of *no* service to Antony (aber ihm *nichts* genützt) he has not adhered to the sense of his author, who only tells us that they were not of any *great* assistance (*οὐδὲν μέγα ὠφέλησαν*). But though the services actually rendered might not have been very important, still, to a state struggling with a powerful enemy, the least diversion would suffice to create alarm, and to justify the expression of Horace. It is, however, most singular, that M. Zumpt should not have perceived that the passage in Dio just alluded to can have no reference, as he seems to think, to the affair of Siscia; since open preparations for war between Antony and Cæsar were not made till the year 722, and there-

fore the alliance of the Daci with the former could hardly have taken place before that date.

There is but little weight in M. Zumpt's argument that, had Horace been alluding to the period following the battle of Actium, the questions put to him by his impertinent interrogators would have been concerning Antony and Cleopatra, rather than the Daci. But here let us pause for a moment to observe M. Zumpt's inconsistency. The whole pith and marrow of his argument lies in the assumption that such questions *must relate to the past;* if that be not granted, all his ingenuity has been exerted in vain. Yet here, in order to serve another purpose, he asserts that had the satire been written at the period contended for, Horace would have alluded, not to the Daci, but to the great impending question respecting Antony and Cleopatra, and which *then* occupied all the world! Thus he kicks aside the whole basis of his reasoning, and the truth peeps out as it were unconsciously. This sort of inconsistency is the usual penalty of too much subtlety and refinement. But as regards the argument itself, who shall assert what contemporary circumstances a poet must select in this way? As this, however, is a question of probability only, so it may be met by a probable answer. The progress of the war against Antony and Cleopatra must, from its magnitude and importance, have been notorious to all Rome. The news respecting the Daci, on the other hand, was comparatively obscure; and the question whether the veterans were to have lands in Italy or Sicily referred obviously to a cabinet secret, with which only the minister and his confidants could be acquainted.

But the most conclusive argument against M. Zumpt's hypothesis, and which might, perhaps, have saved us the trouble of going through it in detail, is the same that has been already applied to Bentley's. M. Zumpt in his calculation notices only the six and a half to seven years mentioned in the Satire in question, and leaves out altogether the nine months mentioned in the Sixth Satire of the First Book as intervening between Horace's first interview with Mæcenas and his subsequent enrolment amongst the number of his friends. Now, as he places the former piece in the summer of the year 720, it follows, deducting the seven years and a half, that Horace must have been introduced to his patron at the beginning of 713, or four

months after the battle of Philippi, and when, according to Mr. Tate, he had not yet returned to Rome. Whether this is at all consistent with probability the reader must judge.

Bentley's object in thrusting back the Sixth Satire of the Second Book to the time just subsequent to the Sicilian expedition against Sextus Pompeius, was doubtless to make it appear that the Satires preceded the Epodes, and that Horace was not engaged in two distinct kinds of composition at one and the same time. But what if it can be shewn that even this epoch for the Satire in question will not serve his purpose, and that some of the Epodes should be placed even at a rather earlier date? If this can be done satisfactorily, and I trust it can, then one of the main props of the Bentleian theory falls to the ground.

The commentators have, I believe, universally considered the first Epode to have been addressed by Horace to Mæcenas on the occasion of the latter's proceeding, or intending to proceed, to the battle of Actium in the year 723. All that appears from the poem itself is, that Horace had requested permission to accompany his patron on some warlike expedition; that he had been recommended to stay at home, but, dissatisfied with this repulse, still persisted in his intention:—

Utrumne jussi persequemur otium
  Non dulce ni tecum simul?
An hunc laborem mente laturi, decet
  Qua ferre non molles viros?
Feremus, et te vel per Alpium juga
  Inhospitalem et Caucasum
Vel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
  Forti sequemur pectore, &c.

That he did not go on this expedition, whatever it was, has been gratuitously asserted. On this subject Jani remarks, in his *Life of Horace* (sub. an. 723), "Mæcenati ad Actiacum bellum cum Augusto ituro comes esse vult Horatius. Hinc carmen v. 1 (*i. e.* Epod. 1), enatum sub initium anni. *Sed non annuit Mæcenas.*" How is it shewn that Mæcenas continued to withhold his consent? *Oracula tacent.*

Most of the commentators on Horace, as well as Mæcenas' biographers, have decided that the latter was actually present at the battle of Actium. On this subject Mr. Tate observes (Appendix v. p. 134), "About the date B.C. 39, when Horace

is supposed to have touched with such sharp ridicule effeminacy like this, that person (Mæcenas) was in the prime of a young and active life; and afterwards, at the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), as commander of the ships called *Liburnian*, he certainly bore a strenuous part in obtaining the victory of that memorable day."

Mr. Tate has not indicated upon what authority the fact, here so positively stated, is founded. It may be worth while, therefore, to inquire what is the principal evidence which may be produced either to prove or to refute it.

Meibomius, in his *Life of Mæcenas*, is, I believe, the first modern author who has asserted the fact of his presence at Actium. Like most biographers, who naturally feel a sort of enthusiasm for the subject of their labours, that author has contrived to make a tolerably bulky work out of very slender materials. The remotest hints, especially if they tend to the credit of his hero, are eagerly seized upon without much inquiry into their probability; and thus, like Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*,

Maxima de nihilo nascitur historia.

All the subsequent biographies seem to have been founded on the work of Meibomius; and, so far as I have had the means of examining them, they follow him in making Mæcenas one of the heroes of Actium. If we examine the evidence on which this has been asserted, we shall find that it rests on the authority of Acron in the Scholia to the first Epode of Horace, and on that of two poets, C. Pedo Albinovanus and Propertius.

I shall not stop to inquire what degree of faith may be reposed in Acron, a scholiast whose very age is unknown[7]. Suffice it to remark, that even were he entitled, individually, to the most implicit credit, it may very reasonably be suspected whether the farrago which passes under his name was the genuine production of his hand. It is evidently made up of the remarks of more than one scholiast, as indeed very plainly

[7] On the subject of scholiasts the following is a sensible remark in a paper translated from Buttmann, in the *Philological Museum*, Vol. I. p. 470:—

——— "All the historical anecdotes which we find in the scholiasts, and which *are not at variance with what we know with certainty from other sources*, nor bear on their face *any manifestly suspicious marks of their origin*, are to be regarded as so many grains of gold."

appears from the annotations in question, which run as follows: Mæcenatem prosequitur euntem ad bellum navale cum Augusto adversum Antonium et Cleopatram. Ad Actiacum bellum iturus Cæsar Augustus liburnis præposuit Mæcenatem. Hac igitur illum poeta oratione solatur." It is next to impossible that the same person could have written the first of these sentences and the two which follow it. Nor can much reliance be placed on the accuracy of a commentator who bestows the name of Augustus on Octavianus four years before he obtained it.

Let us turn then to the poetical authorities. The lines ascribed to Albinovanus, in an elegy on the death of Mæcenas, run as follows:—

Illum piscosi viderunt saxa Pelori
  Ignibus hostilis tradere ligna ratis:
Pulvere in Emathio fortem videre Philippi;
  Quam nunc ille tener tam gravis hostis erat!
Quum freta Niliacæ texerunt lata carinæ
  Fortis erat circum fortis et ante ducem;
Militis Eoi fugientia terga sequutus
  Territus ad Nili dum fugit ille caput. V. 41 seqq.

It must be confessed that this testimony is very direct; but unfortunately there is the same objection to the character of the witness as in the former case—nobody will stand sponsor for him, and tell us who or what he was. The elegy was first attributed to Albinovanus on the conjecture of Scaliger, but has since been rejected by a long list of critics, G. J. Vossius, Barthius, Rutgersius, Brouchhusius, Masson, Burmann, &c. (see the Preface to the Elegy in Le Maire's *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, Vol. CXXXV). Any body who reads the piece will probably agree with these critics that it is the production of some scholiast.

Come we, then, to the only authority really entitled to any weight—that of Propertius. The following is the passage from which the fact of Mæcenas' presence at Actium has been inferred. If, says the poet, fate had given me the power of singing heroic deeds—

Bellaque resque tui memorarem Cæsaris, et tu
  Cæsare sub magno cura secunda fores
Nam quoties Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos
  Aut canerem Siculæ classica bella fugæ;

Eversosque focos antiquæ gentis Etruscæ
  Et Ptolemææ litora capta Phari;
Aut canerem Ægyptum et Nilum, cum tractus in urbem
  Septem captivis debilis ibat aquis;
Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis
  Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;
Te mea musa illis semper contexerit armis.

Why would his muse always interweave the name of Mæcenas into the relation of Cæsar's civil wars? Surely, we should say —to bear out the inference—because he distinguished himself in them, because he was mainly instrumental in gaining those victories by his valour and conduct. The poet, however, assigns no such reason; all that he adds is—

Et sumta et posita pace fidele caput.

The man whom we might have expected to be described as the strenuous warrior and the main cause of the Actian victory, sinks down at once to the merely faithful friend. This savours but little of the warrior.

That Mæcenas was present in some of these campaigns I do not mean to deny; but it is difficult to see the necessity of the *sequitur*, that because Propertius, in an oblique way of flattering Cæsar, enumerates all his civil victories, and adds that he will find means to mix up Mæcenas' name with them, therefore the latter must have been present at all. Might he not have contrived to celebrate Mæcenas' care of the city at home whilst Cæsar was defending it abroad? And if the matter is to rest on the testimony of poets, the eloquent silence of Virgil and Horace respecting the warlike achievements of their patron is infinitely more convincing than this very obscure and inconclusive passage of Propertius. In the description of the battle of Actium which Virgil gives in the eighth Æneid, he mentions the prowess of Agrippa, but concerning Mæcenas, οὐδὲ γρῦ. Horace observes the same silence in the Epode addressed to his patron immediately after the battle (Quando repostum, &c.), when he had a fair opportunity of, at least, alluding to the military glory of his kind and powerful friend.

But if, quitting the airy regions of fiction, we descend to the *terra firma* of history, it becomes clear and indisputable that Mæcenas was not present at the battle. I am not aware that, in prose, a single classical authority can be produced to shew

that he was there, whilst many may be arrayed on the opposite side. The passage from Dio, lib. LI. 3, already quoted (supra, note 4), shews that, at least, immediately after the victory, Mæcenas was Cæsar's vicegerent in Italy, and that he had been so during the whole of the Actian expedition may be very certainly inferred from the circumstance of Dio there informing us, that Agrippa was *sent back* to *Rome* after the battle in order to assist Mæcenas in his civil administration, whilst not a word is hinted about the return of the latter. The same historian, in relating the preliminaries of the battle, tells us that the whole naval force was under the command of Agrippa (lib. L. 14); and though, in the course of the same book, he mentions the names of some officers who distinguished themselves, he says not a word about Mæcenas. Paterculus adds the further information of those who commanded the right and left wings: "Dextrum navium Julianarum cornu M. Lurio commissum, Lævum Aruntio, Agrippæ omne classici certaminis arbitrium." (II. 85.) Would these two authors have omitted all mention of Mæcenas' name, had he borne so 'strenuous a part' in the battle?

Dio, in relating the subsequent distribution of rewards, remarkably coincides with the taciturnity observed by Virgil and Horace respecting Mæcenas' prowess at Actium. He tells us (book LI. c. 21) that Octavianus decorated Agrippa with a purple ensign, in token of his sea victory, but says not a word about Mæcenas. Had he performed the feats of valour which have been ascribed to him, surely Cæsar would have rewarded his bosom friend and counsellor with some gift more choice and precious than those which he distributed amongst the common herd of his lieutenants.

Appian, in the fourth book of his *Civil Wars*, relating the subsequent fate of those who fought against Octavianus at Philippi, touches upon the conspiracy of the younger Lepidus at Rome to assassinate him, and tells us that Mæcenas, having discovered it, sent the culprit to him *at Actium*[8]. If no objection can be raised against this passage, and none I believe has ever been attempted, to an ordinarily constituted mind it would appear

[8] *Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλεύσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδὶ συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ νεανοῦς, ὑπερεώρα, τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι.—κ.τ.λ. B.C.* cap. 50.

conclusive. But here let us make room for the intrepid Abbé Souchay, who, backed by his brace of poets, descends into the arena, and disposes at once of all such peddling objections as may be drawn from Dio, Tacitus, or other triflers of the like kind, in a manner as bold as it is ingenious. "En vain on suppose," he exclaims (in allusion to the well-known passage in Tacitus, *Annal.* VI. 11, "Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Mæcenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam præposuit") "en vain on suppose que durant les guerres civiles Mecénas gouverna l'Italie, et qu'au temps de la bataille dont je parle il étouffait à Rome la conspiration du jeune Lépidus, qui devait immoler Auguste au milieu de son triomphe. Ces deux faits, suivant le père Sanadon, dont je me fais honneur d'adopter le sentiment, tout contradictoires qu'ils semblent d'abord, peuvent aisément se concilier. Mecénas était à la bataille d'Actium, il poursuivit avec ses liburnes Antoine et Cléopatre, mais ne pouvant les atteindre il rejoignit aussitôt la flotte, vint à Rome peu de jours après, s'assura de Lépidus, chef des conjurés, et l'envoya vers Auguste, avant qu'Auguste fût parti d'Actium[9]."

I know not what they of the war-party may think of this explanation, supported as it is by the authority of père Sanadon, whose judgment Mr. Tate has, on another occasion, taken such pains to disable. For myself I must confess that this method of transporting Mæcenas from Actium half-way to Egypt and back—thence to Rome, where he is to have time to detect a conspiracy and despatch the author of it to Actium, and all this before Cæsar has left the place—appears impracticable, except by a man with a bottle of ink and clean sheet of paper before him. If we turn to the account of the matter given by Paterculus, we shall find that the catastrophe was not quite so sudden an affair, but that Mæcenas must have been at his post in Rome, playing with the conspirator like a cat with a mouse before he finally pounced upon him: "Tunc," says he, "urbis custodiis præpositus C. Mæcenas, equestri sed splendido genere natus, vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnis, providens, atque agendi sciens; simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis pæne ultra fœminam fluens * * * Hic speculatus est *per summam* [illegible] *ac dissimulationem* præ-

[9] See a Memoir of Mæcenas in th[illegible] [illegible]*adémie des Inscri*[illegible]

cipitis consilia juvenis, et mira celeritate nullaque perturbatione aut rerum aut hominum oppresso Lepido, immane novi ac resurrecturi belli civilis restinxit initium." Lib. II. cap. 58. This does not present the picture of a man oscillating with a lightning-like rapidity between Actium, Egypt, and Rome.

In short, they who thus represent Mæcenas, make him quite as great a warrior as Agrippa; and there would thus seem to be but little ground for the distinction drawn between their characters by Seneca in his address to Nero (apud *Tacit. Ann.* XIV. 53): "Abavus tuus Augustus M. Agrippæ Mitylenense secretum; Cilnio Mæcenati, urbe in ipsa, velut peregrinum otium permisit: quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romæ pluribus laboribus jactatus, ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis, præmia acceperant."

Let us now revert to Horace's first Epode. If Mæcenas was not at Actium, how does this poem happen to be in existence? In order to escape from this difficulty, Mitscherlich, who holds that he was not, is driven to the conjecture that he only *proposed to go*, and was prevented by having the *præfectura urbis* assigned to him by Octavianus. Horace then was very premature in his offers to accompany his patron, and the publishing of such a poem afterwards would look very like a lampoon upon them both. By this perverse sort of ingenuity, the most direct sort of evidence that can be hoped for or required in a question of this description may be set aside. There is not the least ground for the assumption, and the whole tenor of the poem indicates a firm and settled purpose, not only on the part of Mæcenas to go somewhere, but of Horace to accompany him.

I shall here venture to propose a conjecture that the epode in question does not at all refer to the war against Antony, but to that against Sextus Pompeius, five years earlier. Let us compare a few circumstances which serve to fix it at this date.

First, then, we know from two passages in Appian that Mæcenas really accompanied Octavianus on his Sicilian expedition. He is represented by that author as being twice sent back to Rome on that occasion, in order to quell some disturbances which had broken out there[10]; facts, by the way,

[10] ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι Μαικῆναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἐπὶ πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου. *De Bell. Civ.* Lib. V. c. 99.

Μαικῆναν δ'αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας. *Ib.* c. 112.

which prove how much more readily his services could be dispensed with as a soldier than as a statesman.

Again, we are told by Dio, that in this expedition Cæsar placed his chief confidence in the height and thickness of his vessels[11]. Here, then, we have the 'alta navium propugnacula' of the Epode. The phrase '*ire inter*' can hardly be used with propriety, to convey the notion of a hostile attack upon the lofty ships used by Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. It rather means that Mæcenas was to sail in a light galley amongst the high-built vessels of Cæsar's squadron for the purpose of giving his commands, just as a steamer would be used in a naval engagement now. Mitscherlich admits the propriety of this interpretation although he does not adopt it[12]. We are told, indeed, by Vegetius, that the Liburnian galleys first distinguished themselves at the battle of Actium, but that they were used in the Sicilian expedition against S. Pompeius we have the testimony of Appian; who in reckoning up Cæsar's loss in the storm which assailed his fleet soon after it had put to sea, tells us that he lost more than six-and-twenty of them[13].

The storm just alluded to overtook the fleet off Cape Palinurus, as we learn from Dio, Appian, and Velleius Paterculus[14]. What made it the more extraordinary was, that it happened in the summer-time, and thus seemed a providential intervention in favour of the *Neptunius Dux* on the part of his adopted father. That Horace was in that storm with Mæcenas will be plain to all who recollect the following lines:—

> Non me Philippis versa acies retro
> Devota non extinxit arbor
> Nec Sicula Palinurus unda. Od. 3. 4. 26.

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[11] *μέγιστον δὲ τῷ τε ὕψει τῶν σκαφῶν καὶ τῇ παχύτητι τῶν ξύλων ἰθάρσει.—κ.τ.λ.* Lib. XLIX. 1. Cæsar's ships at Actium were not high built. See Plutarch's *Life of Antony*.

[12] "Sunt qui explicent '*ire inter alta nav. propugnacula*,' discurrere inter majores Octaviani naves, ad ordinandum navale prælium, cæteraque ad pugnam necessaria expedienda; quæ ducis munia obeat *Liburnis*, quippe celerrimis. Ita partim Scholl. et Barth. Advv. LVII. 14. Sane *τὸ ire inter n.* ita acceptum, satis signate dictum, et *propugn. nav.* majores naves unde Octaviani milites pugnarent, recte posse dici, nemo facile dubitet." —Mitscherlich ad. loc.

[13] *διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες, βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβύρνιδες δὲ ἐπὶ πλείους.—B.C.* Lib. v. 99.

[14] *τοιούτοις μὲν λογισμοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἠπείγετο· καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ Παλίνουρον ὀνομαζόμενον ὑπερβάλλοντι χειμὼν μέγας ἐπέπεσε.*—Dio, XLIX. 1; Conf. Appian, B.C. Lib. v. 98; Paterc. II. 79.

Here we have the fact distinctly recorded, that Horace was once in great danger off Cape Palinurus. Coupling this with the determination expressed in the first Epode to accompany Mæcenas on the Sicilian expedition, to which we know the latter went, we are led most convincingly to the conclusion that he was actually with his patron in the storm. If this be not so, to what other epoch shall we assign that memorable event in the poet's life? The only other occasions on which he was at sea were on his passage to and return from Greece. To the latter of these Mr. Tate assigns the accident of his shipwreck. "We may," says he, "without much hesitation assume that when returning home by sea in the winter B.C. 42-41, he encountered that peculiar danger off Cape Palinurus which he so gratefully classes with his other deliverances." (*Prel. Diss.* p. 54.) It is difficult to calculate the degrees of hesitation which differently-constituted minds may feel in giving or withholding their assent to any train of reasoning which proceeds upon probabilities. Yet few, perhaps, will be inclined to assume, in the absence of all authority except that of the 'old commentator in Cruquius' (whom Mr. Tate represents as speaking 'without scruple'), that Horace, who had so great a dread of the sea (V. Od. III. b. i. v. 9, seqq.) should have chosen in the winter time to prolong his voyage from Greece by coming round the *western* coast of Italy, instead of making the direct cross to Brundisium. Indeed, we may look upon the three escapes which Horace has recorded in the Ode above cited, as given in their chronological order: first, the defeat at Philippi; next, the falling of the tree, which probably occurred when taking possession of his new estate, and superintending some alterations; and lastly, his narrow escape from shipwreck off Cape Palinurus.

If there be any truth in the above remarks, the first Epode must be placed five years earlier than the date hitherto assigned to it. But should they be thought too conjectural, then I must rely for my proof on the fourth Epode addressed to Menas, Pompey's renegade freedman, whom Cæsar intrusted with a command in the Sicilian war. The old and genuine inscription refers the piece to him; yet Gesner (and after him, Mitscherlich) is not satisfied. Why? Can he point out any other person to whom it may, with more or even equal pro-

priety, be referred? Nothing of the sort. His scruples are founded simply on the circumstance that Horace, whilst abusing him, has not mentioned his perfidy. Excellent reason! If, then, a poet does not say exactly what his critic imagines he ought to have said, are we at liberty to reject the strongest evidence both direct and circumstantial? But the fact is, that the man's perfidy was not Horace's aim, but his pride. Cæsar's party were gainers by the former; and Horace could not, either with decency or safety, inveigh against it, having ostensibly enrolled himself in Cæsar's ranks by his connexion with Mæcenas. But he was at liberty to attack the pride and ostentation with which the upstart insulted the whole Roman aristocracy. Let any one compare the account of this man given by Dio Cassius (Lib. 48. 25) with Horace's poem, and then judge whether they do not both refer to the same individual. "Menas," says Dio, "who was still in Sardinia with a military command, fell under the suspicions of Sextus, on account of the dismissal of Helenus, and also because he had communicated with Cæsar; his equals, too, had criminated him out of envy at his power. Wherefore, being recalled under pretence of rendering an account of the money and provisions which he had administered, he refused to obey; but seizing and putting to death those who were sent on this errand, and having previously entered into a treaty with Cæsar, he surrendered to him the island, the fleet, the army, and himself. Cæsar received him with welcome; and when he heard from him that Sextus, in contravention of the treaties, was entertaining runaway slaves, building triremes, and planting garrisons in Italy, he not only refused to give Menas up when demanded, but held him in much honour. He complimented him with golden rings, and enrolled him amongst the equestrian order. Now, with regard to the rings, none of the ancient Romans (as I have already said) not even the free-born, except senators and knights, much less, therefore, those who had once been slaves, were permitted to wear them," &c. After reading this passage, let the reader (remembering also that Cæsar invested Menas with a command in this war against the piratical forces of Sextus, composed of renegade slaves) turn to the following passage in the fourth Epode, and say whether he be not the man aimed at:—

Sedilibusque *magnus in primis eques*
Othone contempto sedet?
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
Rostrata duci pondere
Contra *latrones* atque *servilem manum*
Hoc, hoc, tribuno militum?

This Menas was killed in the Pannonian war in the year 719, four years before the battle of Actium[15]. Mr. Tate retains the old and genuine inscription of the Epode—'Ad Mænam (s. Menam) Pompeii libertum,' but remarks of it, though without assigning any reason, 'very doubtfully inscribed in Mænam'—and—'if Mænas can be the person attacked' (See Append. IV. p. 126). Other recent commentators have also doubted whether Menas be the person alluded to; but the reasons which they assign, such as that we do not learn anywhere else, that he bore on his person the marks of servile and degrading punishment, &c., are not very convincing. Surely, it was not an ordinary circumstance in the short period of this war that renegade slaves should be made knights, and intrusted with a command. But whether the person attacked be Menas or not, the last line but one (v. 19) is sufficient to fix the date of the Epode at the time of the Sicilian expedition. See the Appendix, p. 217 fol.

The ninth Epode, however, was undoubtedly written after the Actian engagement, and before Cæsar's final triumph over Antony. Thus, then, we have a period of at least five years over which the Book of Epodes extends. And we are told by Horace himself, that he was a long while in bringing the book to a conclusion:

Deus, deus, nam me vetat
Inceptos, *olim promissum carmen*, Iambos
Ad umbilicum adducere. Epod. 14. 4.

According to Bentley's theory, he finished the book in two years, and at least as quickly as any other. Why then this apology?

Horace, then, must have been writing Epodes and Satires at the same time; and we may pretty confidently point to the eighth Satire of the First Book, and the Epodes against Canidia, as the contemporary productions of his muse. But,

[15] καὶ ἔν τε τῷ ποταμῷ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Μηνᾶν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου ἐξελεύθερον ἀπέκτειναν. — Dio, XLIX. 37.

says Mr. Tate, Horace tells us in the third Satire of the Second Book, that he is packing up *Archilochus* to carry with him into the country; and this fact is in its way demonstrative of the Epodes being absurdly collocated in the old order before the Satires: the fruit produced, and then the tree planted! Was Horace never to look into Archilochus after he had written his first Epode?

If the above views be correct, then, as a corollary, Mæcenas had presented Horace with the Sabine estate either in or before the year 718, since the poet unequivocally alludes to it in the first epode. And so far this date may agree with that assigned by Mr. Tate. The seventh epode probably refers to the breaking out of the war between Antony and Cæsar.

But if it has been proved that Horace was writing Satires and Epodes at the same time, what is there to prevent us going a little further, and admitting that he might also have been composing Odes? On this subject Mr. Tate says, "Among the Epodes there is nothing lyrical whatsoever; of itself, surely, a decisive fact, that to the Odes, a higher class of poetry, he did not at all devote his mind till a later period" (Prelim. Diss. p. 11). That fact, however, cannot be regarded as decisive of any thing, except, that when Horace published his books, he kept pieces of the same kind together. Yet it must be acknowledged, that the argument here rests more upon probability and conjecture, and that nothing so decisive can be advanced against Bentley's theory with regard to the Odes, as I trust has been done with regard to the Satires and Epodes.

But though it must be admitted that most, if not all, the political allusions in the Odes are subsequent to the battle of Actium, may not that circumstance be capable of explanation? The Book of Epodes comes down to that date, yet it contains nothing in honour of Cæsar. Even the ninth Epode, written after the battle, is rather a congratulation with Mæcenas than with Cæsar. The truth is, that Horace's political principles were those of the old republican party. In his heart he seems to have looked upon Cæsar's successes with no very warm satisfaction, till the final defeat of Antony and Cleopatra left him the undisputed autocrat of the Roman empire. We have no hymn of triumph on the defeat of Sextus Pompeius. The fourth Epode, *in Menam*, which we have already examined, even conveys an oblique censure upon Octavianus. Antony, who

held out the promise of restoring the republic (Dio, Lib. 50. 7 & 22), was still at the head of half the Roman world, and it was yet undecided to whom the fortune of arms might award the administration of the empire. During this state of suspense many scrupled not, even at Rome itself, to declare their predilections in favour of Antony. Thus we find, in the year 722, Caius Sosius, one of the consuls, openly taking the part of Antony (Dio, 50. 2), and the very boys in the streets were divided into factions of Antoneans and Cæsareans (Ibid. cap. 8). Yet no sooner have the gipsy and her paramour succumbed, than Horace writes the thirty-seventh Ode of his First Book (Nunc est bibendum, &c.), addressed—not to Mæcenas, but—*ad Sodales.* Even afterwards, however, he was always averse to tune his lyre to political themes, and seems scarcely ever to have done so except when requested.—See his excuses to Agrippa, Ode VI. Book 1; but especially the twelfth Ode of the Second Book; from which it plainly appears that he had been solicited by Mæcenas to sing the triumphs of Cæsar.

If such, then, were the feelings of Horace, especially in the beginning of his poetical career, they who argue for the probability of some of his Odes being of an early date, are necessarily deprived of one of the strongest sources of proof—that, namely, which may be drawn from allusions to public events. Such as refer to personal or private matters, are of course more obscure. Yet I should be inclined to place the ode to Pompeius Varus (Book 2. 7), with Jani and Mitsherlich, in the year 715, on the occasion of the peace with Sextus Pompeius, which procured for the proscribed (the actual assassins of Cæsar excepted) the liberty of returning to Rome (Dio, 48. 36. Vell. Pat. 2. 77)[16]. We learn from the Ode itself, that Pompeius had been in the army of Brutus; and Dio tells us that after its overthrow, several who had served in it joined Sextus Pompeius (B. 48. 19). On this subject Mr. Tate remarks (App. VII. p. 143)—"because there is a general amnesty recorded in B.C. 39, the Pompeius of 2 C. VII. could not have been restored from exile, according to Kirchner, by any other act of grace, public or private; and that Ode, therefore, must be referred to B.C. 39, in the 26th year of Horace's age." Surely it was rather incumbent on Mr. Tate to produce some other treaty, or act of grace, by which the

[16] Compare Niebuhr's Lectures on the Hist. of Rome, Vol. II. p. 118, note 5.

republicans who had belonged to the party of Brutus were enabled to return, than thus to thrust upon his opponents the impossible task of proving a negative. This is, I believe, the only recorded amnesty of the kind, and therefore it confers a high degree of probability on the supposition that it gave occasion to the Ode.

According to Bentley's theory, Horace could have written none of his love songs till he was verging upon forty. Yet at the latter age, as we learn from his Ode to Xanthias (Lib. 2. 4), he considered himself as little fit for amorous sports:

> Brachia et vultum teretesque suras
> Integer laudo: fuge suspicari
> Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
> Claudere lustrum. V. 21, seqq.

There is, however, in the tenth Ode of the Third Book, said to have been written after the above lines, a very passionate address to Lyce; which beauty, again, in the thirteenth Ode of the Fourth Book, we find converted into an old woman, with wrinkles and grey hairs. Could the interval of eight years, placed by Bentley between the Third and Fourth Books, have sufficed to convert the Lancashire witch of the former Ode into the broom-stick witch of the latter?

The whole question respecting the Odes divides itself into two points; when they were written, and when they were published in books. Of these the former is by far the most material. Bentley's theory, however, seems to recognize no distinction of this sort, but considers the different books to have been written as well as published separately and consecutively, as appears from the following passage:—"Horum enim rationibus et Carminibus et Epodis et Sermonibus Epistolisque scribendis uno ac eodem tempore vacavisse nostrum necesse est; et singula quæque poëmatia separatim in vulgus edidisse: quorum utrumque a vero alienum esse mihi pro comperto est" (Apud, Mr. Tate, p. 3). I do not, however, wish to take advantage of the brevity of the great critic's remarks in order to impute to him any opinion that he may not have really entertained; and am therefore willing to adopt Mr. Tate's explanation of this passage (App. VII. p. 144), that "Bentley did not mean to deny that Horace must have allowed several of his writings to be known amongst his friends at the time, either by private recitation, or by giving copies of some pieces just as they were

written; and that 'the collective publication of the pieces afterwards in separate books is all that we contend for.'" Some have doubted whether this was ever done by Horace himself, as Klotz[17]. But the poet's own testimony (1 Epist. 13 and 20, and other places), as well as that of Suetonius, has, I think, disposed of the point. Allowing the concessions demanded by Mr. Tate, and also that Horace *ultimately* published his poems in books, still it does not follow that he must have done so immediately on the completion of (what now constitutes) each book. He does not at first seem to have written with any view to publication, but merely to gain the friendship and patronage of a select few. The poems which were destined only for the perusal of Mæcenas and his circle, would be more prized than if they could be found on every book-stall in Rome. Nay, Horace himself pretty plainly tells us that this was the case; and from the following lines would appear to have had a sort of horror of publication:—

> Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos
> Quîs manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli, &c. Sat. 1. 4. 71.

Primâ facie, then, there is considerable probability in the inference that he did not collect and publish his earlier pieces till late in life: and if this were so, then he might have inserted them without any regard to their chronological order. Mr. Clinton, in his "Fasti Hellenici," has pointed out two or three circumstances which very strongly confirm this view, especially as regards the first two books of Odes. Thus, in the first book, the inscription of the second Ode to Augustus is one year below Bentley's dates; and the twenty-fourth Ode of the same book, on the death of Varus, four years. Mr. Tate, indeed, objects to the authority by which the latter event is fixed, but without producing any reasons. Again, Mr. Clinton shews (An. 25), that the second book extends over a period of five years, instead of the two assigned by Bentley; since in the fourth Ode Horace mentions his fortieth year, which fell in the year 729, whilst the ninth refers to the advantages in the east obtained in 734. (Dio, 54. 9.) It may be added, that the third Ode of the first book is addressed to Virgil, on the occa-

[17] "Gesneri interpretatio tum demum locum habitura esset si aliquid certius constaret de ordine quo Horatius sua carmina sive scripserit, sive scripta in volumine collocaverit, *si collocavit ipse unquam*."—*Lectiones Venusinæ*, p. 30.

sion of his voyage to Greece; and we know of no other voyage but that which he undertook in the year 735, which would bring the book nine years below Bentley's date. From these circumstances we may conclude that the political and other allusions in the different Odes do not afford any certain grounds for fixing the dates at which the respective books were published, and that, still less, do they bear out those assigned by Bentley. If this be so, then each Ode in which there is any such allusion can speak only for itself, and is of no use in determining the date of other pieces in the same book. What, then, is to prevent our placing some of the Odes, especially those of the amorous and lighter cast, at a much earlier period of Horace's life than is recognized by the Bentleian theory?

Indeed, without some such assumption, it is difficult to see how Horace could have earned that poetical reputation which was the means of procuring him the friendship of Virgil and Varius. The Book of Epodes, one of his earlier productions, was evidently, as we have seen, undertaken at the request of Mæcenas, and, consequently, when he was already on terms of friendship with him. If we examine the First Book of Satires, said to have been his earliest work, we shall find that all, except four, must have been written considerably after his first introduction to his patron. In the opening of the first satire he addresses Mæcenas on the footing of a familiar friend. In the third, we find that he had been some time on terms of intimacy:—

> Simplicior quis et est (qualem me *sæpe* libenter
> Obtulerim tibi Mæcenas), &c. V. 63.

So also in the Fifth Satire, or Journey to Brundisium. In the sixth we have the following convincing passage:—

> ——— optimus *olim*
> Virgilius, post hunc, Varius, dixere quid essem. V. 54.

In the ninth we read—"Mæcenas quomodo tecum, &c.," v. 43. We have Bentley's own authority that the tenth was written the last in the book, on account of the epilogue; besides, in the eighty-first line, Horace reckons Mæcenas amongst the number of his admirers. There remain, then, only four, viz., the second, fourth, seventh, and eighth, to whose probable date we have no clue, and which could by any possibility, and certainly need *not necessarily* have been written before the date of his acquaintance with Mæcenas. These four satires, then, of

which one contains only thirty-five lines, must, on the Bentleian theory, have been the foundation of Horace's poetical fame; have been the employment of at least three years, and the occasion of his friendship with Virgil and Varius, and of his introduction to Mæcenas.

Mr. Tate has, however, urged an objection against the probability of Horace's writing Odes and Satires at the same time, which, being drawn from the internal evidence afforded by one of the latter, is deserving of considerable attention. In his Preliminary Dissertation (p. 15) he remarks as follows:—

"Horace, in the fourth Satire of his first book, v. 39—55, shews great anxiety to disclaim all pretensions to the higher character of a poet: and well he might, without any mock modesty, disavow it. At that early period of his life and writings he had nothing to ground the claim upon, except the publication of a few satires, and the farther promise of talent in that particular vein."

"But hear what M. Dacier says, as reported by Dr. Francis, 54 Ergo—

Non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis.

M. Dacier thinks that Horace would not have been so modest with regard to his Satires, and so fearful of prostituting the name of poet, if he had not secured his own right to it by his Odes."

"Hear next M. Sanadon (vol. ii. p. 169):—

38 Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,
Excerpam numero.

'Horace s'etoit dejà assuré par ses Odes le nom de poète; ainsi il ne risque rien à se dégrader pour ses Satires. Sa modestie n'en est que plus grande, et cette vertu ne sauroit être petite dans un poète, pourvû qu'elle soit bien sincère.' No exposure can make blunders like these more ridiculous; they cannot be aggravated by any comment," &c.

Allowing to Mr. Tate's argument the greatest extent of which it is capable, it will reach no further than this: that when the *Fourth* Satire of the *First* Book (which, it has been above shewn, might *possibly* have been one of Horace's earlier pieces) was written, he had not yet composed any Odes. If that Satire was an early one, we cannot draw the same conclusion from it as to the others in the same book; and that a Satire in

the *first* book can prove nothing with regard to the *second*, is a proposition too plain to need discussion. If it was a late one, and after some of those addressed to Mæcenas, the improbability of Horace's having earned his fame solely by his Satires is still further augmented by the diminution of their number.

I do not, however, wish to rest the argument on this ground. The last lines of the very same satire to which Mr. Tate appeals, shew plainly enough that Horace thought himself entitled to be called a poet:

> Multa poetarum veniet manus auxilio quæ
> Sit mihi (nam multo plures *sumus*) ac veluti te
> Judæi cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

And therefore we may conclude, as Klotz did in remarking upon the same passage, in reply to Père Hardouin, that Horace is merely speaking of his claims to the poetical character from that *particular species* of composition—namely, the Satiric[18].

Indeed by the same method we might prove that Horace had written no Odes when he penned the First Epistle of the Second Book, and which has been justly placed amongst the latest of his works. In that Epistle the following passage occurs:—

> ——— nec *sermones* ego mallem
> Repentes per humum quam res componere gestas
> Terrarumque situs et flumina dicere, et arces
> Montibus impositas, et barbara regna, tuisque
> Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
> Claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Janum
> Et formidatam Parthis, te principe, Romam:
> Si quantum cuperem, possem quoque: sed neque parvum
> Carmen majestas recipit tua; nec meus audet
> Rem tentare pudor quam vires ferre recusent. V. 250 seqq.

Who, that was not better instructed from other sources, would not conclude that Horace, when he wrote this, had composed nothing but Satires? Or, who would ever imagine that he had written several Odes in honour of Augustus? Indeed this passage, coupled with that adduced by Mr. Tate, would almost drive us to that paradox of Hardouin, which, with many

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[18] Nonne quivis quid spectaverit ille statim intelligit? Hæc autem verba, *uti nos*, minime ad alia carminum genera trahi sed de satyra intelligi debent."—*Lectiones Venusinæ*, p. 41.

others of the same kind, obtained for him the *sobriquet* of the *père éternel des petites maisons;* namely, that the Odes of Horace were not genuine, but an impudent monkish forgery. Luckily, however, we *are saved from this alternative* by a passage in the nineteenth Epistle, in which he alludes to his Odes and Epodes, as well as by the superlative excellence of the poems themselves.

The scholiast on V. 3, Sat. 2, Lib. 1, tells us that Horace cherished a grudge against Tigellius because the latter had decried his verses as being '*parum scite modulata.*' The old commentator has there evidently confounded Tigellius Sardus with Hermogenes Tigellius; nor, perhaps, would there be much weight due to his testimony if it had not been in some measure confirmed by Horace himself, in a passage before quoted from the fourth Satire of the First Book (quîs manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli), where he puts him, as a judge of poetry, on a level with the vulgar. But if at that time Horace had written nothing but Satires, in which he never pretended to much *numerosity*, where would have been the pungency of his critic's remark? Might not some of these condemned pieces have been those very Alcaics, lame in the third line, to which Mr. Tate has alluded? But this would lead us into too wide a field of discussion and conjecture, and it will therefore be better here to take leave of the subject.

Upon the whole matter, I hope it has been shewn that some of the Satires and Epodes at least were contemporary. Whether during the same period Horace's muse occasionally produced him an Ode is a matter rather of probability and conjecture than of evidence and proof, and the reader must therefore judge which way the balance inclines. But a small proportion of them, especially in the first three books, afford any internal evidence as to their date, and therefore any attempt to arrange them separately in chronological order, as Sanadon, Kirchner, and others, have done, cannot but prove futile and abortive.

THOMAS DYER.

APPENDIX.

IF there is any truth in the remark that the nineteenth verse of the Fourth Epode is of itself sufficient to fix the date of the

the defeat of Sextus Pompeius in 718 (U.C.)—and, to disprove it, the supporters of Bentley's theory are bound to shew that, *after that event*, and indeed in the years 722 and 723, a *large* armament (tot ora navium) was equipped against a fleet composed of pirates and slaves—then the question whether Menas be the person attacked in that Epode, or not, becomes one of minor importance. Still, as it is not entirely devoid of interest, I shall perhaps be permitted to examine some arguments in support of the negative recently advanced by Dr. Teuffel in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* (June, 1844, No. 65), and which he introduces by a rather authoritative assertion, that it is just as doubtful who the hero of the piece may be, as it is certain that he was not Menas or Menodorus.[1]

Dr. Teuffel's first objection is, that the person aimed at is described as ostentatious of his riches, and yet we are not told by any of the historians that Octavianus presented Menas with any magnificent rewards for his desertion. The force of this argument it is difficult to see, unless Dr. Teuffel means to imply that Menas could not have become rich from any other source but the bounty of Cæsar. Horace does not say that such had been the origin of his hero's fortune. Nor was Menas so thoughtless or disinterested a character as to make it probable that he would have betrayed Sardinia into Cæsar's hands without having derived any personal benefit from the sway which he exercised there, and which was so absolute that some of his officers accused him to Sextus Pompeius of aiming at the sovereignty. One of his first acts, after the conquest of the island in the year 714, was to dismiss Helenus, Cæsar's favourite freedman, without ransom; a proceeding which shews that he was even then meditating a revolt to him, and which he actually executed in less than two years afterwards (Dio Cass. XLVIII. 30). During this interval he had plenty of time and opportunity to make a purse for himself; and as we know that in those days many of the noblest Romans made no scruple to enrich themselves out of the spoils of provinces to which they were appointed as the peaceful guardians of the laws, need we doubt that a treacherous and selfish slave would do the like in a country reduced by force and held only till he could find a fitting opportunity to betray it? That this was not so may be inferred from one of the pretexts of his recal, that he should render an account to Pompey of the monies which had passed through his hands (Dio. XLVIII, 45). With these spoils he might have

[1] Appian calls this person Menodorus throughout, whilst Dio is as consistent in styling him Menas. He probably assumed the former appellation when manumitted, on which occasion it was customary for slaves to change their names. Cf. Lucian: Timon: *ἀντὶ τοῦ τέως Πυῤῥίου ἢ Δρόμωνος ἢ Τιβίου, Μεγακλῆς, ἢ Μεγάβυζος, ἢ Πρώταρχος μετονομασθείς.*

bought his Falernian acres without being indebted to Cæsar for any thing but the unmerited honours with which his knavery was rewarded; although it by no means follows that he got nothing more substantial merely because the historians are silent on the point.

Dr. Teuffel's second objection is, that Menas must have been so entirely occupied with his duties in the fleet that he could not have found time to walk and drive about Rome like the subject of Horace's lampoon. Now what are the facts? Menas must have deserted to Cæsar at least in the early part of 716, since Cæsar's harbouring him was one of the grievances alleged by S. Pompeius in justification of the war which ensued in that year (Dio XLVIII, 46[2]). In that war Cæsar was so crippled, that for the remainder of that year, and *all the following one*, he durst not shew himself at sea, but employed himself in building a new fleet, and collecting a naval force of slaves and others (*καὶ τόν τε ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτόν γε καὶ ὕστερον, ἔς τε τὴν ναυπηγίαν τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄθροισιν τήν τε ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐρετῶν κατανάλωσεν.* Dio XLVIII, 49.) This force Agrippa exercised during this period in the Portus Julius, or artificial harbour at Baiæ, where there was not the least necessity for the constant, hardly perhaps for the occasional, presence of Menas. We have, therefore, every right to assume that, from the autumn of 716 till the early part of 718, when operations were resumed against Pompey, a space of about a year and a half, Menas might have had plenty of time to swagger along the Via Sacra, or to cut up the Appian road with his ponies. And it is most probably during this interval that the Epode in question was written.

Dr. Teuffel next objects that it is more than improbable, and therefore, we suppose, impossible, that a slave whom Pompey presented with his freedom, and whom Pompey's son intrusted with his fleet, that is, with his all, should have undergone punishments like those alluded to in v. 3 and 11. But it appears to me that the improbability of S. Pompeius' (whom Velleius, Lib. II. 73, describes as "libertorum suorum libertus, servorumque servus") intrusting a part of his fleet, the whole of which was manned by renegade slaves and the very scum of the earth, to a clever freedman, so skilful a seaman (Appian v, 101), and one who had passed his whole life in the service of his family, nor had yet committed any signal act of treachery, although he might in his younger days, like most other clever slaves, have paid an occasional visit to the *pistrinum*, is not one jot greater, if so great, as that a person of the same character should be made a Roman knight and a

[2] Appian tells the story rather differently. From his account it would appear that Pompey was not aware of his freedman's desertion till he actually appeared in arms against him: *Ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος, ᾔσθετο.*—*B. Civ.* V. LXXXI.

tribunus militum under the patronage of Octavianus. Yet that the latter case was a fact appears on the face of the Epode, unless Horace be exaggerating; which, as poets do not write on affidavit, is not at all improbable: and that thus, whether Menas or any one else was the object of his Satire, a very slight hint might have served for the story of the whipping and imprisonment. Whilst on this point, Dr. T. might have bestowed a line or two on the word 'Ibericis' (v. 3). Some commentators, it is true, have referred it to the ropes being made of Spanish broom, but in this way it is a mere vague and unmeaning epithet; whereas, if we take it to convey an allusion to Spain, whither the younger Pompey had retired to maintain himself against Julius Cæsar, it points, as it were, with the finger to Menas as the subject of the Ode, and adds another trait to those, which, whilst they held him up unmistakeably to the indignant gaze of Rome, spared the author the necessity of naming him.

Like a skilful strategist, Dr. Teuffel brings up the rear with his best argument—that the designation of *tribunus militum* does not suit Menas, who, we are told by Appian (B. Civ. V. 80), was appointed legatus, under Calvisius Sabinus[8], immediately on his desertion (*Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα 'ελεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου, καὶ ὢν αὐτὸς ἤγαγε νεῶν ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλουϊσίῳ*). But, though willing to allow all due force to this argument, I must at the same time be permitted to remark, that it is not at all decisive. I agree with Dr. Teuffel in thinking that Horace would not have given the man a wrong designation, as Franke suggests (*Fasti Horat.* p. 128), either out of contempt or from want of accuracy; but I am by no means so satisfied that the first part of Franke's remark, namely, that when the Epode was written Menas was in reality only a *tribunus militum*, is incorrect. It may be observed, that throughout the story there are many discrepancies between Appian and Dio; and in this part the former is not confirmed by the latter. On the contrary, it may be inferred from a passage in Dio, that even if Menas were Sabinus' lieutenant in 716 (of which Dio says nothing), he had ceased to be so in the interval between the campaign of that year and the resumption of hostilities in 718. In describing the last-mentioned event Dio says—*Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταται. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ, ἐχώρει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μηνᾶς ἄπιστός τε φύσει ὢν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀεὶ θεραπεύων, καὶ πρόσετι καὶ ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ Σαβίνῳ ὑπετέτακτο, πρὸς τὸν Σέξστον αὖθις ηὐτομόλησεν* (Lib. XLVIII, 54). Now, even admitting that *ὑποτάττεσθαι* is

[8] It may be remarked that Schweighaüser, both in his version and index, makes Calvisius Sabinus into two persons; misled, apparently, by the particle *τε* coming between the names in one of the chapters.

equivalent to ὑποστρατηγεῖν, the word used by Appian, and that μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν may be said with propriety of a Legatus, still the most reasonable inference from this passage is, that this subordinate appointment, whatever it was, at which Menas took offence, must have been made just before the resumption of hostilities in 718; as we are otherwise driven to the alternative that the haughty freedman must have put up with the affront for a period of nearly two years. If, then, we should decide that Dio's words refer to the post of legate, and not to that of tribune; still Menas may have held only the latter rank during the interval of the war.

On these grounds, and to escape from the extreme improbability that more than one Menas should have astonished and disgusted the Roman public during the brief period of the Sicilian war, by so unparalleled a rise from the degradations of slavery to the possession of wealth, and to the station of a knight and military tribune, it seems most reasonable to conclude that Pompey's freedman was indeed Horace's butt, as the scholiasts unanimously assure us.

T. D.

XIV.

ON THE APOLOGY OF SOCRATES COMMONLY ATTRIBUTED TO XENOPHON.

The little treatise which is usually printed among the works of Xenophon, under the title of Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους, is unquestionably a genuine relic of antiquity, but whether it is a production of Xenophon is a question which modern critics have answered in different ways, though most of them agree in declaring it a supposititious work. The question however has, to my knowledge, never yet been fully discussed; and those writers who have expressed their opinions upon it, have done so merely by the way and on general grounds; it will therefore perhaps not be superfluous to subject it to a somewhat closer examination.

In this, as in all similar cases, we have to look first to the external testimonies of the ancients themselves. The first writer who is believed to allude to the Apology, as a work of Xenophon, is Athenæus, who lived, at the earliest, about the end of the second century after Christ. Athenæus, while discussing

the historical inconsistencies in the works of Plato, states[1] that he also differed from Xenophon in his account of the manner in which the Delphic Oracle answered Chærephon's question about Socrates. His words are as follows: *κἀν τούτοις δὲ μὴ ξυμφωνῶν Ξενοφῶν φησι*[2], *Χαιρεφῶντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτήσαντος ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων πολλῶν παρόντων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον.* Now these words, as they are quoted by Athenæus, occur neither in the works of Xenophon nor in those of Plato; the latter merely says[3], that the Pythia declared *μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι*, and in the Apology ascribed to Xenophon[4] we find the more rhetorical statement that Apollo declared *μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε σωφρονέστερον, μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον, μήτε δικαιότερον, μήτε σοφώτερον.* The words quoted by Athenæus bear indeed a stronger resemblance to those in the Xenophontean Apology[5], and it might be said that the discrepancy between the words in Athenæus and Xenophon arose from the fact of the former quoting the passage from memory; but this supposition is scarcely admissible in our case, where Athenæus is discussing minute historical differences between Xenophon and Plato, for by an inaccurate quotation he would have been guilty of the very thing with which he there charges Plato. The copy of Xenophon's Apology, therefore, from which Athenæus seems to quote—for the passage does not occur in any other of Xenophon's works—must have been different from the one which we possess, and it cannot be said with any certainty that our present Apology is the same as the one which Athenæus had before him.

The second authority which, apparently, is of somewhat greater weight, is Diogenes Laertius, who attests in two passages that he knew of an Apology of Socrates attributed to Xenophon. In the first[6] he endeavours to prove that there existed a sort of rivalry between Plato and Xenophon, and says, *ἔοικεν δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν* (scil. *τὸν Πλάτωνα*) *ἔχειν οὐκ εὐμενῶς. Ὥσπερ γοῦν διαφιλονεικοῦντες, τὰ ὅμοια γεγράφασι, Συμπόσιον, Σωκράτους Ἀπολογίαν, τὰ ἠθικὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα.*

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[1] V. p. 218.

[2] Some read *Ξενοφῶντι φησι* (scil. *Πλάτων*), for which Casaubon proposed to read *Ξενοφῶντι ὃς φησι.*

[3] *Apolog. Socrat.* p. 21. a.

[4] § 14.

[5] This circumstance led Casaubon to the emendation of the passage in Athenæus, which I mentioned above.

[6] III. § 34.

In the second passage[7], Diogenes, in enumerating the works of Xenophon, likewise expressly mentions an *Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους* as distinct from the *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*. These two passages therefore prove beyond a doubt that there existed in the time of Diogenes an Apology of Socrates, which was believed to be a work of Xenophon, but they do not prove, by any means, that the work now extant under that name is the same as the one to which he alludes, though it may be the same, and in all probability is the same, since Stobaeus, who probably lived in the fifth century of our era, quotes[8] from our Apology two passages of considerable length, from § 28 to § 30 and from § 25 to § 28.

Thus, even if we set aside the doubtful authority of Athenæus, we have every reason for believing that in the time of Diogenes Laertius our Apology existed, and that Stobaeus made use of it is attested by positive evidence. If, however, we consider the uncritical character of Diogenes and Stobaeus[9], their testimony in ascribing the Apology to Xenophon is of little weight, and even the negative evidence of other more critical writers is, I think, sufficient to render their authority at least very doubtful. There are many passages of earlier writers in which they would certainly have mentioned Xenophon's Apology, if they had known its existence. I shall mention only the most striking instances. Dionysius of Halicarnassus[10], putting side by side the works which Plato and Xenophon had written in defence of their master, says that Plato wrote an *ἐγκώμιον ἐν ἀπολογίας σχήματι*, and Xenophon *ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασι· ὡς γὰρ ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους ἐγκώμιον Σωκράτους περαίνει*. Any one must see that Dionysius would not have omitted here to mention Xenophon's Apology, if he had known it, and the only thing that he knew Xenophon to have written in defence of Socrates, is the Apomnemoneumata, or, as they are more commonly called, the Memorabilia.

The author of the forged epistles of Xenophon[11] makes no allusion to an Apology of Socrates, written by Xenophon, but he regards the Memorabilia as an apology, for he says—*δοκεῖ*

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[7] II. § 57.

[8] pp. 94 and 96, ed. Gesner.

[9] I need only remind the reader that he quotes the letters of Phalaris and other forged productions, without a doubt as to their genuineness.

[10] De arte rhetor. II. p. 57, ed. Sylburg.

[11] *Epist. Socrat.* XV. p. 38.

χρῆναι ἡμᾶς συγγράφειν ἅ ποτε εἶπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἔπραξεν· καὶ αὕτη ἀπολογία γένοιτ' ἂν αὐτοῦ βελτίστη εἰς τὸ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα. The author here speaks of the Memorabilia as the only and the most suitable Apology of Socrates that Xenophon wrote, and must therefore have lived previous to the time when our Apology was circulated under the name of Xenophon. It would not be difficult to multiply the number of passages which prove, in a negative way, that the Apology was unknown at the time when they were written, but I shall not dwell upon them, as the strongest evidence of its spuriousness is, after all, derivable from the character and nature of the treatise itself. I will only add, that the first editions of Xenophon's works, the Juntina and Aldina, do not contain the Apology; but whether it was omitted by the editors from carelessness, from want of MSS., or from their conviction that the Apology was a forgery, cannot be ascertained. The first edition of the Apology is that of J. Reuchlin, who edited it, in 1520, together with Xenophon's Encomium on Agesilaus and the Hiero, and ever since that time it has been printed among the works of Xenophon.

The first modern writer who expressed reasons for doubting the genuineness of the Apology, is Valckenaer, who remarks[12]—"Quæ vulgata prostat ut Xenophontis Σωκράτους Ἀπολογία, est illa hoc ingenio capitali, siquid judico, prorsus indigna, ab eodem conflata, cui finem Cyropædiæ debemus et alia quædam, quæ vulgo leguntur ut Xenophontea." In another place[13] he observes—"eadem, verbis tamen diversis usus, tradiderat in Cyropædia, I. 6. § 21, legunturque talia in his Socraticis longe plurima, eorum similia, quæ prostant in Cyropædia, nec tamen iisdem verbis narrata. Et crederemus Xenophontem sua ipsius, quæ dederat in Historia Græca, centena continua in Agesilai encomio transscripsisse? *aut Apologiam scripsisse Socratis, in qua nihil alicujus inveniatur momenti, quod non legatur in his commentariis?*" In this last remark Valckenaer has hit upon one of the main points; for the author of the Memorabilia would indeed have acted very foolishly, if he had written the Apology, which hardly contains any thing that is not found in the Memorabilia. This fact alone is sufficient to refute the opinion of

[12] In a note on the Memorab. I. 1.

[13] In a note on the Memorab. III. 3. § 9.

Schneider[14], who believes that the Apology originally formed the conclusion of the Memorabilia, and that it was afterwards severed from it by some grammarian, who also interpolated it in many parts, and so skilfully, that Schneider himself despairs of being able to point out any of the interpolations. If the Apology had ever formed a part of the Memorabilia, we should of course expect to find in it some information which is now not contained in the Memorabilia, but no such information is to be gathered from it, except a few trivial things, which every school-boy at Athens must have known. On the contrary, in the latter portion of the Fourth Book of the Memorabilia, we meet with a considerable number of statements which are repeated in the same words in the Apology. These circumstances have induced Boeckh[15] to adopt the opinion of Valckenaer, without, however, entering any further into the question.

Heinse[16] and Weiske[17] have claimed the Apology for Xenophon, but on no other grounds than the authorities above quoted.

If we turn to the consideration of the Apology itself, the doubts which have been raised by the examination of external evidence will be considerably increased. The writer states, in the outset, that it is his object to defend Socrates against the charge of a haughty and overbearing conduct, or the *μεγαληγορία*, which he was said to have used during his trial, and to prove that this apparent overbearingness was not the result of arrogance or obstinacy, but the necessary consequence of his conviction that it was better for him to die than to live. For this purpose the writer introduces Socrates explaining to Hermogenes the causes which prevented his imploring the mercy of the judges. Then follows a specimen of Socrates' *μεγαληγορία*, of which strong traces were visible even in the conversation with Hermogenes. The writer then proceeds to relate the manner in which Socrates behaved at the conclusion of his trial, and what he said to his friends about his own innocence and sanctity. All this is well calculated to shew why Socrates acted in the way he did, and to defend him against

[14] In his introduction to the Apology.

[15] In his treatise, "De simultate quæ Platoni cum Xenophonte intercessisse fertur." p. 7.

[16] In a dissertation appended to his German translation of the Memorabilia, Weimar, 1818, 8vo.

[17] In his introduction to the Apology (*Xenoph. Op.* Vol. v. p. 200, &c., ed. Weiske).

the charge of foolish presumption and obstinacy. But at § 27 the writer appears completely to forget his object, for he relates sundry anecdotes which prove nothing more than that Socrates was in a cheerful mood during the last moments of his life, and that he foretold the fate which awaited the son of Anytus, his accuser. Towards the end of the treatise the author returns to his subject; he gives some reasons why Socrates would not condescend to implore the mercy of his judges, and then finishes the apology by bestowing some general praise upon Socrates.

From this summary it appears, that the author of the Apology did not intend to defend Socrates from the charges which his accusers had brought against him, but merely to shew that his *μεγαληγορία* was the necessary consequence of his convictions, and not improper pride. Now that *μεγαληγορία*, of which the author of the Apology furnishes us with examples, is quite a novel feature in the character of Socrates, and is not known, either from the Memorabilia or from the works of Plato, for, in both of the latter works, we always find Socrates speaking and defending himself with the dignity, firmness, and irony of a man who is conscious of his innocence, and looks upon death with a cheerfulness which can be the result only of perfect innocence. There is indeed a kind of *μεγαληγορία* perceptible in the Memorabilia as well as in Plato's Apology, but it is very different from that with which we become acquainted in the Xenophontean Apology, and which is not attested by any other authority; it is, to be brief, opposed to all we know about the character of Socrates from other sources, and bears strong marks of the exaggerated notions which a rhetorician who lived three or four centuries later would naturally form of Socrates.

Let us now turn our attention to Valckenaer's assertion, that the Apology contains nothing of any importance which is not to be found in the Memorabilia. As Valckenaer has not entered into any detail on this point, I have drawn a comparison between the Memorabilia and the Apology, and shall point out what is peculiar to the latter and what not. By far the greater part of what we read in the Apology is found also in the Memorabilia, sometimes in the same or similar words, and sometimes more minute in the Memorabilia than in the Apology; the only points which are peculiar to the Apology

are the following. In paragraphs 7, 8, and 9, Socrates declares that death by the potion of hemlock cannot be very painful, that therefore his friends ought to bear his death with firmness, and that the gods themselves had advised him not to undertake any thing for the purpose of escaping death. And, he adds, if my judges are angry at my being honoured and distinguished by gods and men, it is better for me to die than to live in servitude. In § 14 we find the rhetorical oracle which the Pythia is said to have given to Chærephon, and which has been quoted above. In § 23 it is related that Socrates would neither himself estimate the punishment he deserved, nor allow his friends to do so; and that when the latter intended secretly to liberate him, he strenuously opposed their scheme. In § 26 Socrates consoles himself by the fate of Palamedes, who was likewise innocently killed, but afterwards enjoyed a higher reputation than his murderer. In § 28 Socrates admonishes his friends, and particularly Apollodorus, not to indulge in their grief at his death. In §§ 29 and 30 he foretels the fate of the son of Anytus.

These are the only points on which the Apology affords information not to be derived from the Memorabilia. They are in themselves not without interest, so far as the life of Socrates is concerned, but they have little or nothing at all to do with the question which the writer proposed to himself on the outset. All that is of importance is derived from the Memorabilia. Such a repetition naturally suggests the question as to which of the two works—if Xenophon composed both—was written first. If we suppose that the Memorabilia was the earlier work, it certainly cannot be conceived why he should afterwards have made such a miserable repetition of what he had already written, and added only such things as must have been known to everybody. If the Apology had been the earlier work, we might easily conceive, that the author afterwards made use of it, and worked it up into a larger treatise—the Memorabilia, so that then the Apology would have become superfluous. But there is sufficient evidence that the Apology must have been written a considerable time after the death of Socrates. In the first paragraph the writer states, that *other persons had written about the trial and death of Socrates*, and that all of them had touched upon his *μεγαληγορία, whence it is manifest*, he says, *that he actually did*

make use of it[18]. Surely this sentence shews that a considerable time must have intervened between the death of Socrates and the composition of the Apology, and that the author of the latter had no personal knowledge of the death of Socrates, but that he had derived his information from books. He infers, from the agreement of all the authorities which he consulted, that Socrates had actually been guilty of something which he calls *μεγαληγορία*, and which he proposes to explain. Xenophon could not have used such a phrase, and we must conclude that, if there is any truth in the preceding remarks, Xenophon is not the author of the Apology.

It might be urged against all this, that the language of the Apology contains nothing to suggest a later date than the age of Xenophon, and that, as far as correctness is concerned, the language is perfectly worthy of Xenophon and his age. But the language of late writers is, in many cases, a very deceitful guide and a true *ignis fatuus;* for some of the grammarians, both Latin and Greek, by studying particular authors, artificially acquired a language and style which bear the strongest resemblance to their models, and which would defy the most critical scrutiny[19]. The only point in which such imitators usually betray themselves is their rhetorical exaggeration, by which they hope to improve upon their originals. Strong instances of such exaggeration occur in the Apology, in the specimens which the author furnishes of Socrates' *μεγαληγορία*, and nothing is more natural than that a rhetorician, hearing of this *μεγαληγορία*, and incapable of understanding the calm dignity of Socrates, should exaggerate his quiet consciousness of innocence, which we see in Plato's Apology and in the Memorabilia, into a declamation about his innocence and merits, and that he should make Socrates himself speak of it in strong and presumptuous terms[20].

All that I have pointed out here leads me to the belief, that

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[18] Γεγράφασι μὲν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ πάντες ἔτυχον τῆς μεγαληγορίας αὐτοῦ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐῤῥήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους.

[19] Among the many instances of such successful imitations of [illegible] others, I will only ment[illegible] in Latin, and Dion Chryso[illegible]

[20] Compare, for example, the conversation with Hermogenes in the Xenophontean Apology, § 3-10, with that in the Memorabili[illegible]d the accounts of the Delphic o[illegible]ng Socrates in Plato's Apol[illegible] rhetorical [illegible]laration of [illegible]ology [illegible]ed to Xe[illegible]

our Apology was written by some sophist or grammarian, during the period between Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Athenæus, that is, either in the first or second century of our æra. The author seems to have extracted from the Memorabilia, especially from the latter portion, for the sake of exercise or amusement, whatever he thought fit to explain the μεγαλληγορία, which he found mentioned by various writers, and which, according to his own notions, he exaggerated into something which is really unworthy of the character of Socrates. In making his extracts, he transcribed, almost literally, the same words from the Memorabilia, where the accounts were sufficiently brief; in other cases, he abridged his original. He could not, however, prevail upon himself to abstain from inserting such things as he happened to know from other sources, and, as he thought, had some bearing upon the question under consideration. With a want of judgment not uncommon with the sophists of the first century of our æra, he also added anecdotes and tales which had no connection with the subject in hand, but seemed interesting enough to him to be repeated.

L. Schmitz.

XV.

ON AN ETRUSCAN CITY, RECENTLY DISCOVERED, AND PROBABLY THE VETULONIA OF ANTIQUITY.

In the course of a tour which I made in the early part of this year to the sites of certain cities of ancient Etruria, I visited Magliano, in the Tuscan Maremma, a wretched village about eight miles from the sea, and ten from Scanzano. I had heard from the antiquaries of Florence vague rumours of something of interest existing in this neighbourhood, but could not learn its precise character or situation; and I had come to the conclusion that it was nothing more than the excavation of tombs, so commonly made at this season of the year throughout Etruria. On making inquiries at Magliano, I was referred for information to a gentleman then resident in the village, an engineer engaged in the construction of a road from Magliano to Le Saline, at the mouth of the river Albegna.

From this gentleman I learned that a city of great size had recently been brought to light by himself. Great part of the ground through which his road had to run being low and swampy, and the higher land being of a soft friable tufo, he was at first at a loss where to find the materials he wanted; when he fortunately uncovered some large blocks, buried beneath the surface, which he recognized as the foundations of an ancient wall. Continuing his excavations, he followed the line of masonry, breaking up the blocks as he unearthed them, till he had traced out the periphery of a city.

With true Tuscan politeness he accompanied me to the site, and pointed out whatever was worthy of notice. It was the first opportunity he had had of doing the honours of his city; for though the discovery had been made in November, 1842, and he had communicated the fact to his friends, the intelligence had not spread, and no one had as yet visited the spot.

The city lay midway between Magliano and the sea, on a low table-land, just where the ground begins to rise above the level of the coast. In length it was two miles from east to west, and one and a-half from north to south, being of an oval or pear-shaped form, with its sharpest end to the east; and taking into consideration the sinuosities of the ground, its walls cannot have been less than six miles in circuit. On the south-east it was bounded by the streamlet Batrignano, whose banks rise in cliffs of no great height; but on every other side, the table-land on which it was built sinks in a gentle slope to the plain. At the south-westerly extremity, near a house called La Doganella, the only habitation on the site of the city, was found a smaller circuit of wall; and this, being also the highest part of the table-land, is thus marked out as the site of the Arx.

Though little now remains of the walls, and no ruins rise above the level of the soil, the site, form, and extent of the city are clearly determinable by a practised eye. The ground within the circuit of the ancient walls is thickly strewn with broken pottery, that infallible and ineffaceable indicator of bygone habitation; and here it is of that character found on Etruscan sites, without any admixture of marbles or fragments of more valuable stones, which mark the sites of Roman cities[1].

[1] Outside the walls, however, and further inland, are some Roman remains—the bases of small Doric columns, probably of a temple, and mosaic pavement, near which some coins of the Empire have been found.

Though the walls, or rather their foundations, had been almost entirely destroyed since the first discovery, a few blocks remained yet untouched by the hammer, and sufficed to satisfy me of the Etruscan character of the city. They were of limestone and tufo, the latter agreeing in size and form with Etruscan blocks of this material, and the former resembling those in the walls of Populonia. Some blocks of this description had been found nine or ten feet long. In one spot, where a few still retained their positions, a sewer, opening in the walls, was distinctly traceable.

Outside the walls, to the east, tumuli have been found, surrounded, as in other Etruscan necropoleis, by masonry; which has now, however, been removed for the sake of the road. On the higher grounds to the south-east of the city, many tombs have been opened—undoubtedly Etruscan, in character and contents. They are not hollowed in cliffs, but sunk beneath the surface, as at Volterra, Perugia, and Vulci. Some few have genuine Etruscan paintings on the walls. At Magliano I saw many articles found within them—pottery, bronzes, and sculpture—which my experience enabled me to pronounce indubitably Etruscan, and of the most archaic character. The existence of Etruscan tombs in this neighbourhood has indeed been known for some years, and excavators have come from Chiusi on speculation; but tombs are of such frequent occurrence in Etruria, that the existence of an Etruscan city near them, though necessarily inferred, was not ascertained, and no researches were made for its site, which may have been supposed to have occupied the hill of Magliano. To those who know Italy, it will be no matter of surprise that the existence of this city should have been so long forgotten. Had there been ruins of walls or temples on the site, such things are of too common occurrence in that land to attract particular attention; and generation after generation of peasants might fold their flocks or stall their cattle amid the crumbling ruins, and the world at large remain in ignorance. Thus it was with Pæstum, whose magnificent temples were unknown to the archæologist till the last century. Can we wonder then that in the Tuscan Maremma, not better populated or more frequented, because not more healthy, than the Campanian shore, a city should have been lost sight of, which had no walls or ruins aboveground, no vestige but broken pottery—which, though it tell a tale to the antiquary, conveys no idea to the simple peasant?

While it is to be lamented that to future travellers scarcely any traces of the city will remain, it must be remembered, that had it not been for the peculiar exigences of the engineer which led to their destruction, we should have remained in ignorance of their existence. Other accidents might have led to the uncovering of a portion of the wall, but it is difficult to conceive that any other cause could have brought about the excavation of the entire circuit, and the consequent determination of the precise limits of the city. So that, after all, we must acknowledge ourselves greatly indebted to the gentleman who made the discovery.

The situation of this city, four miles only from the sea, and elevated but slightly above the level of the shore, seems to assimilate it in character with the earliest settlements on this coast—with the Pelasgic towns of Agylla, Alsium, Pyrgi, Pisa. Its size is superior to that of every Etruscan city, save Veii, and, together with its position, proves it to have been a place of first-rate importance in the early ages of Italy. Its situation seems to mark it as essentially maritime, and we are naturally led to look for its port, as Tarquinii and Cære, cities on the same coast, and similarly situated, had theirs, whence the commerce and arts of the sea-ruling Etruscans (Τυῤῥηνοὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους θαλαττοκρατήσαντες. Diod. Sic. v. 40) were conveyed to the other shores of the Mediterranean. And in fact, at the distance of four miles only to the west is the bay of Telamone, where existed in Roman times the port of Telamon, but whether on the eastern or western point, that is, whether on the headland of Telamonaccio or on that of Telamone, is not, I believe, satisfactorily determined. Numerous ruins of Roman buildings along the shores of this bay attest the importance of the port in former times: no Etruscan remains, however, as far as I can learn, have yet been discovered; but such may exist, for no researches have been made; the spot being now visited only for commercial purposes. P. Mela (II. cap. 4) mentions Telamon among the places on the coast of Etruria, and adds to the list in which he includes it, "Etrusca et loca et nomina;" yet this cannot admit of a strict interpretation, as the list comprehends Pyrgi and Castrum Novum, the one as evidently Roman, and the other as clearly Greek, in name, as they are known to have been, respectively, in origin. Yet there was probably no city, not even a town, on the shores of this bay in Etruscan times—nothing more than a mere landing-place, with perhaps

a castellum for the protection of the few houses of which it consisted; as seems to have been the case with Gravisca, the port of Tarquinii. Pyrgi, though containing an arsenal and a magnificent temple, and Alsium, are said by Rutilius (I. 223 seq.) to have been, even in their palmy state, mere "oppida parva." Besides, Pliny (N. H. III. 8) says of Populonium, "Etruscorum quondam hoc tantum in litore;" and Strabo, (v. p. 223 ed. Casaub.)—"δοκεῖ μοι μόνη τῶν Τυῤῥηνίδων τῶν παλαιῶν αὕτη πόλεων ἐπ' ἀυτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἱδρύσθαι;" while he mentions Gravisca, Pyrgi, Alsium, and Fregenæ, as "πολίχνια" (p. 225). Whence we may conclude that Populonium was the only city, strictly speaking, on this coast, and that the other places which we know existed in Etruscan times, were little or nothing more than fortified landing-places attached to their respective harbours. Such I suppose Telamon to have been. For though we cannot learn from history that the bay of Telamon was used as a port before the period of Roman domination in Etruria, it is difficult to believe the advantages of such a site to have been overlooked or neglected by a maritime people like the Etruscans; and now that a city of first-rate magnitude, and bearing unequivocal evidences of an Etruscan origin, has been discovered in the immediate neighbourhood, we are driven to the conclusion that the bay of Telamon was its port. The distance between them, four miles, is precisely that between Tarquinii and Gravisca, and between Cære and the sea. The reason of the city being situated so far inland seems to me to be evident—for the sake of strength of position, elevation above the unhealthy swamps of the coast, and room to extend its dimensions ad libitum, which it could not have done on the rocky heights above Telamone, or on the small conical headland of Telamonaccio. Its situation, indeed, seems a certain index to its character. Had it not been for maritime purposes, and proximity to the port of Telamon, surely the founders of this city would not have chosen a site so objectionable on many accounts as this, but would have preferred a situation still further inland, which would have combined the advantages of more natural strength, and greater elevation above the heavy atmosphere of the Maremma, in every age more or less unhealthy.

It is difficult to believe that a city of so large a size, and so near the sea and the port of Telamon as to have been almost necessarily maritime, could have been passed over in silence by

the writers of antiquity; but which of the names of Etruscan cities whose sites are yet undetermined shall we attach to it? Let us consider which of these cities must be looked for in this vicinity, or rather in the central region of Etruria. Caletra, without doubt—for Livy (xxxix. 55) speaks of it in connection with Saturnia—"et Saturnia colonia civium Romanorum in agrum Caletranum deducta." Pliny also (N. H. iii. 8) mentions "ager Caletranus" as a name derived from an ancient town, which he implies had ceased to exist. His mention of it follows his alphabetical list of Etruscan towns, which concludes with "Volsinienses: In eadem parte oppidorum veterum nomina retinent agri, Crustuminus, Caletranus." Were his list not alphabetical, it might be concluded that these two "agri" were in the neighbourhood of Volsinii, but, as it is, he can only be interpreted as calling them Etruscan, without fixing their precise locality.

Another city which may be looked for in this part of Etruria is Statonia. It seems to have been on or near a lake, which contained an island. (Plin. ii. 96, and xxxvi. 49. Seneca, Nat. Quest. iii. 25.) Cluverius places it at Castro, on the left bank of the Fiora, and supposes its lake to have been the Lago Mezzano (Ital. Ant. ii. 517); but this lake contains no island, and there are only four lakes in Etruria which do,—the Volsinian, the Vadimonian, the Thrasymene, and the Lacus Prilis or Prelius. The first two are mentioned by Pliny, and the second by Seneca, in addition to the lake of Statonia. The Thrasymene is too far inland; for Pliny (xiv. 8. 5) indicates for Statonia a site near the sea, though not actually on the coast (Plin. iii. 8; Strabo v. p. 226). And of the Lacus Prilis, or Lago Castiglione, may be said, what will apply with more force to the other three, that it is too remote to have received its name from Statonia, had that town occupied this newly discovered site. It would rather have been called Lacus Rusellanus. Statonia, indeed, from the mention of it by Pliny (xiv. 8. 5, xxxvi. 49), Vitruvius (ii. 17), and Varro (de Re Rust. iii. 12), in connection with Tarquinii, seems to have stood near, if not actually within, the territory of that city, as Vitruvius appears to intimate. Its precise position it is not my object to determine; it is enough to shew that it is not likely to have occupied this recently discovered site.

A third town is Sudertum, mentioned by Pliny (iii. 8) and by Livy (xxvi. 23), but with no hint as to its locality. Ptolemy

mentions it as Σούδερνον, and its position, according to his reckoning, would be near the Lake of Bracciano. Modern geographers, however, have given it a more northerly site; Cluverius and Holstenius placing it at Farnese, and Cramer at Sorano.

Besides these, there were Salpinum, which seems to have been near Volsinii (Liv. v. 31 and 32), and Cortuosa and Contenebra, both in the territory of Tarquinii (Liv. vi. 4).

But not one of these places is mentioned by the ancients in such a way as to warrant the supposition that it was of great importance among the cities of Etruria, or, with the exception of Statonia, that it was on the sea-coast. There is, however, yet one more whose site has not been satisfactorily determined, and which alone, in importance, can answer to this newly found city—it is Vetulonia.

I will first briefly state what mention has been made of that city by the ancients, then comment on the various opinions that have been held regarding its site, and lastly, offer my own.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (iii. c. 51, p. 189 ed. Sylburg.) mentions Vetulonia as one of five Etruscan cities which promised to assist the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus. He states that not all the cities of Etruria agreed to afford assistance, but these five alone: "Κλυσῖνοί τε καὶ Ἀῤῥητῖνοι καὶ Οὐολλετέρναι, οἱ Ῥουσαλῖνοί τε, καί ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Οὐετυλωνιᾶται." Pliny (iii. 8) mentions "Vetulonienses," in his list of "Intus coloniæ;" and, in another place (ii. 106), says, "(aquis calidis) ad Vetulonios in Etruria, non procul a mari, pisces (innascuntur)." Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72 ed. Bertii) mentions Οὐετουλώνιον in his list of Τούσκων μεσόγειοι, and gives its latitude and longitude. And Silius Italicus, in his Punic War (viii. 485), thus speaks of it:—

> Mæoniæque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis.
> Bissenos hæc prima dedit præcedere fasces,
> Et junxit totidem tacito terrore secures:
> Hæc altas eboris decoravit honore curules,
> Et princeps Tyrio vestem prætexuit ostro:
> Hæc eadem pugnas accendere protulit ære.

The sum total of what we learn from the ancients on this subject may be comprised in a few words. Vetulonia was a city of great antiquity, importance, and magnificence, having hot springs in its neighbourhood; and, though not situated exactly on the shore, being classed by Pliny and Ptolemy

among the cities of the interior, it must have stood at a short distance from the sea.

The site of this city has long been a point of debate among antiquaries. Among the various opinions that have been entertained, two have had most currency and support. The one is, that Vetulonia stood at or near Viterbo, on the lower slopes of the Ciminian Mount; the other, that its ruins are to be found in the mountains near the sea, between Populonia and the Torre di San Vincenzo. The latter opinion, first broached by Leandro Alberti (Descriz. d'Ital. p. 26), in the sixteenth century, who described minutely the ruins of a temple which he called Itulonium, on a spot named La Selva Vetleta or Vetulia, and followed, on his authority, by Cluverius, and his commentator, Holstenius, by Dempster, Ximenes, Müller, Micali, and Cramer, has been so entirely overthrown by the Cavaliere Inghirami (*Ricerche di Vetulonia*, p. 38 seq.[2]), who shews that no such names or things as Alberti has described are in existence on that spot, that I need scarcely mention in corroboration that Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in 1818, sought in vain for the traces of this city among the mountains where Alberti has placed it, as I have myself done this spring with no better success. The other opinion, that Vetulonia formed part of the Tetrapolis of Viterbo, based on the fictitious decree of King Desiderio, has been refuted by Orioli and Camilli; and that it existed in that vicinity, on the northern slopes of the Ciminian, as Inghirami has conjectured, has been clearly shewn by Dr. Ambrosch, in his reply to the letters of Inghirami, to be untenable. The latter learned antiquary has shewn, in his second letter, that certain documents of the middle ages prove the existence of a castle named Vetulonium, on a hill, now called Castiglione Bernardi, near Monte Rotondo, twelve miles north of Massa Veternensis, and fifteen from the sea, the summit of which still retains the ruins of a fortress of the middle ages. Dr. Ambrosch admits the validity of these documents, and regards this hill as the site of the ancient Vetulonia. But here a difficulty arises. The hill of Castiglione Bernardi is a truncated cone, with a level of so small an extent as to be covered by a feudal castle—quite unequal to hold a town, much less a city of such importance as Silius Italicus intimates Vetulonia to have been; and, moreover, it retains no traces whatever of Etruscan antiquity—" not a single

[2] Published also in the Memorie dell'Instituto, II.

stone," as Inghirami admits, "of ancient Etruscan construction[3]." Each gentleman attempts to get over this difficulty. The Italian supposes the existence of two Vetuloniæ; one, the city celebrated by Italicus, which he places on the northern slope of the Ciminian; the other, a small town, or mere castle, on this said hill of Castiglione Bernardi: an opinion he seems to think authorized by Pliny, who uses "Vetulonienses" in speaking of the city, and "Vetulonii" in referring to the hot waters. The German, while denying the existence of two towns of this name, and admitting the force of the documents which indicate Castiglione as the site of Vetulonia, boldly questions the magnificence of the ancient city, and disputes the authority of the poet who has testified to it. His opinion demands a few observations.

Doctor Ambrosch maintains that the terms which Dionysius of Halicarnassus employs, in speaking of Vetulonia, and the place in the sentence he assigns to it, are opposed to the idea of her superiority, and, in fact, rather imply an inferiority to the other four cities mentioned in connection with her. (*Ric. di Vet.* p. 73.) It does not become me to enter the lists on such a point with one of Dr. Ambrosch's known classical attainments; therefore, though I might submit, as an opinion far more weighty than my own, that καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις does not necessarily involve the idea of inferiority[4], I shall confine myself to stating, that the order in which the cities are named, seems to be that suggested by their geographical position. Could it even be demonstrated that, at the period to which Dionysius refers in this sentence, Vetulonia was inferior in importance to the other four cities, still there is no proof that it had from the first maintained the same relative position. Surely, in the centuries that had

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[3] "Di fatti non solamente mi fu impossibile," says Inghirami, "di ravvisare fra i tanti muri superstiti di Castiglione neppure un sasso che dasse indizio di costruzione antica tirrenica, qual competevasi agli avanzi dell' Etrusca città di Vetulonia, ma la stessa località del monticello ch'io dissi non avere altro piano praticabile che per lo spazio di mezzo miglio incirca, non poteva contenere sicuramente una città qual dovette esser la capitale dei Vetuloniesi." *Ricerche di Vetulonia*, p. 35.

[4] Cluverius is so far from considering this passage to imply inferiority, that he adduces it in evidence of Vetulonia being one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan confederation: "Quum reliquæ urbes, Clusium, Aretium, Volaterræ, et Rusellæ, ex XII. principum urbium fuerint numero, de Vetulonio quoque dubitare minimè debemus." (b. II. p. 473.) Müller (*Etrusker*, II. 1, 2) uses the same argument.

elapsed from the foundation of the Etruscan state to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, there was abundance of time for cities to have risen to greatness and to have fallen into decay. Interpret the passage as he will, the simple fact of Vetulonia being mentioned as an independent state, acting in concert with four others, confessedly among the principal ones of Etruria, is wholly incompatible with its occupation of the site assigned to it by Inghirami and Ambrosch.

Nor do I see the force of the learned doctor's objections that Dionysius in another place (III. c. 61, p. 195) asserts that the insignia of sovereignty were sent to Tarquin by all the Etruscan cities in common, and that both Dionysius and Livy (I. 8) state that the twelve lictors were given to the chief of the Etruscan confederacy by the twelve cities of the League, each city sending one. The passage of Silius Italicus in no way contradicts these statements, but simply assigns the first institution of the insignia in question to the city of Vetulonia.

But Dr. Ambrosch's main argument against the validity of the authority of Silius Italicus is based on the silence of Livy and the other Roman historians, of Strabo, and of every other poet, even of Virgil, whose antiquarian knowledge of Italy was so extensive, and whose notices of ancient cities so frequent; and he considers it impossible that, had Vetulonia been of any size or importance, no mention whatever would have been made of it by the great mass of Roman writers, more especially in the records of that war which ended in the entire subjugation of Etruria. To this I would reply, that if it occupied a site so far north as we have reason to suppose, its distance from Rome would account for the silence of Livy in the early part of his history, as it explains his silence with regard to Fæsulæ, Populonia, Cosa, and Vulci; and that it is not mentioned in his narrative of the last Etruscan war, may probably be owing to its previous destruction, desertion, or decay: besides, every one knows that Livy's account of that war is not complete—that his first decade ends with the year of Rome 462, whereas Etruria did not entirely lose her independence for several years after; and it is most probable that the fall of the Etruscan cities most remote from Rome, was described in the first books of the second decade, which is lost.

The learned doctor lays great stress on the silence of Strabo, "who knew almost every thing which had been said

of the earliest ages of Italy, of Greece, and of Asia, down to his own days,—who, furnished with this immense store of knowledge, travelled through the lands themselves, to see, investigate, and note down" (*Ric. di Vetul.* 79); and from this he argues against the supposed magnificence of Vetulonia. Even if the city had not ceased to exist in Strabo's time, which is not improbable, his silence is accounted for by his mode of description, for he says, "Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, πόλεις πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις, Ἀρήτιόν τε καὶ Περουσία, καὶ Οὐλσίνιον, καὶ Σούτριον· πρὸς δὲ ταύταις πολίχναι συχναὶ, Βληράτοι καὶ Φερεντινὸν, καὶ Φαλέριον, καὶ Φαλίσκον, καὶ Νέπιτα, καὶ Στατωνία, καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους, αἱ μὲν ἐξαρχῆς συνεστῶσαι, τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ρωμαίων οἰκησάντων ταπεινωσάντων, καθάπερ τοὺς Οὐηΐους πολεμήσαντας πολλάκις, καὶ τὰς Φιδήνας." (V. p. 226.) Now, if Vetulonia were then in existence, it is doubtless included among the πολίχναι συχναί, but that it was consequently inferior in size to those cities particularly specified, by no means follows; for Strabo evidently classed them according to their relative importance in his day, and not in Etruscan times, or Sutrium could not have been mentioned among the principal cities, as it was one of the smallest of Etruscan towns, and most assuredly would have been numbered among the πολίχναι; and Veii, in the time of Romulus, was the most powerful city of Etruria (Dion. Hal. II. c. 54, p. 116), and, as its remains testify, was of much larger size than Arretium, Perusia, or Volsinii, and certainly demanded the most prominent place in the catalogue[5].

It is quite possible that Vetulonia, being in the same category with Veii, one of the πολίχναι, may have been in its palmy days of equal dimensions. The mere fact of Strabo's silence in no degree invalidates either the asserted magnificence, or the antiquity of Vetulonia; otherwise, on the same grounds, it might be maintained that Cortona was not one of the most ancient and important cities of Etruria—that Rusellæ, Fæsulæ, and Capena had never been of importance, because classed with the πολίχναι, without any particular mention being made of them; though each of these four, as well as Vetulonia, can urge claims to be considered a city of the great Etruscan league.[6]

[5] In Strabo's time, Veii had scarcely an existence. Florus declares that its very site was forgotten (I. 12), but the new Roman colony, the "Municipium Augustum Veiens" of the inscriptions, must have been already established.

[6] The claims of the first two are undisputed.

The history of Vetulonia, so far as it related to Rome, may have been, and most probably was, inferior in interest to that of many other Etruscan cities, smaller, but situated nearer to the Seven Hills; and the city may have ceased to exist from other causes than conquest by the Romans. Its unhealthy position may have occasioned its desertion at an early period of the Roman republic. I state these conjectures to shew how inconclusive is Dr. Ambrosch's reasoning founded on Livy's and Strabo's silence, and that this negative argument ought not to weigh one moment against the positive statement of Silius Italicus.

The same may be said with regard to Virgil. That poet has introduced comparatively very few of the Etruscan cities into his verse, and those he mentions are not all of the first importance, actually or historically. Besides omitting all mention of places which, though small, took a prominent place in early Roman history, as Nepete, Sutrium, he says not a word of Arretium, Perusia, Volsinii, Rusellæ, Volaterra, or Veii—six cities which have the strongest claims to be ranked among those of the league—the first three called by Livy (x. 37. comp. IX. 37), "Capita Etruriæ," and the last, even in the days of Romulus, "the most powerful city of Etruria," and ever after the constant foe and most formidable rival of Rome. Of what value, then, is the argument founded on Virgil's silence? As to the other historians and poets, their silence is of still less importance, as they either wrote much more succinctly, or of matters not bearing on the subject. Enough has been said, I think, to make it evident that the omissions of other writers ought not to bring into suspicion the express statement of Silius Italicus as to the pristine magnificence of Vetulonia, supported as it is to a certain extent, that is, as regards the early importance of that city, by the testimony of Dionysius.

And why should the authority of Silius Italicus on this head be questioned? He was not in the habit of expressing himself at random, but is famed for the accuracy of his descriptions and antiquarian notices. In these particulars he is certainly not less to be relied on than Virgil, his constant model. If his descriptions of places be tested, they will be found accurate, and his historical notices not otherwise. In fact, his statements do not bear the character of having been loosely made, but exhibit an attention to detail which is strongly in favour of

their authenticity. The testimony of the younger Pliny is quite in accordance with this: "scribebat carmina majore curâ, quam ingenio." (*Epist.* III. 7.) In the particular instance in question, his assertions respecting the insignia of sovereignty being of Etruscan origin, are confirmed by many other writers. No one for a moment doubts the fact. It is only disputed by Dr. Ambrosch that Vetulonia is the precise locality to which they owe their origin. Since the main substance of the passage can be proved to be true, and not the mere embellishment of poetry, why should the poet be charged with inaccuracy in this one particular statement, which is not contradicted by any other author, but is merely an addition to the information we derive from other sources? It would be a mere gratuitous assertion, destitute of proof, that Vetulonia was mentioned at random, or was preferred for the sake of the verse; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that it was not expressly intended by the poet, seeing the strong and decided language he employs. If it be admitted that there is some poetical license in the passage, in what can it consist? Clearly not in the statement of the Etruscan origin of the insignia; it can only be in the mention of these particulars to intimate some more general fact, which, if those six lines have any meaning whatever, must be the current tradition of the high antiquity and former magnificence of Vetulonia, set forth in express terms in the first line.

If, then, the accuracy of the poet's statement be admitted, it will be evident that the hill of Castiglion Bernardi cannot be the true site, for it is a small isolated hill, accurately described by the term "*poggetto*," little larger than the celebrated Poggio di Gajella near Chiusi, and certainly not larger than the Castellina at Tarquinii—without any level space that could admit of such a city as the Vetulonia of Silius. I have already stated how this fact induced Inghirami to seek the Vetulonia of the poet on another site; and even when compelled by Dr. Ambrosch's reasoning to renounce the idea of a Ciminian Vetulonia, he still naturally experienced a difficulty in supposing this the true site: "Perhaps the aforesaid hill was only the acropolis of Vetulonia, as in truth its form and size seem to indicate, and the city which was built around it had probably no walls, but merely wooden fences, such as the Pelasgians are said to have constructed at Spina, on their first landing in

Italy." (p. 95.) But in another place he remarks, "The hill is wedge-shaped (conical?), completely isolated, and of considerable elevation, and its slopes are very steep, so as not to be ascended without great difficulty." (p. 30.) If this be not deemed a sufficient refutation of the former passage, I may add, that it was utterly opposed to the universal practice of the Etruscans to build a city in such a manner, and to employ such fortifications; and I can assert this with the more confidence, as I have visited and examined the remains of all the Etruscan cities whose sites are ascertained, with one or two trifling exceptions, besides others whose ancient names are lost, but which bear unequivocal traces of an Etruscan origin. It is possible some hamlet or castle may have existed here even in Etruscan times, which would account for the few tombs found in the neighbourhood, none of which, however, according to Inghirami, have yielded any thing but vases of the most ordinary kind, though sometimes of beautiful forms and fine varnish. In fact, that such castles and villages, "castella vicique," were not unfrequent in Etruria, is proved by Livy (x. 12; comp. v. 5; IX. 41; x. 46), and corroborated by the remains of masonry on sites too circumscribed for cities, and by the numerous tombs scattered over the face of the country in small clusters, on spots too remote from the ancient cities to form part of their necropoleis.

How and when the spot acquired the name of Vetulonium, which it bore during the middle ages, it is impossible to determine. That it bore this appellation in Etruscan times we have no proof. That the names of places were often altered by the ancients we have examples in Etruria itself, and its confines—Camers was changed to Clusium, Agylla to Cære, Aurinia to Saturnia, Nequinum to Narnia, Felsina to Bononia; and that the name of one town was sometimes transferred to another we have an instance in Falerii, which name was transferred from the ancient city on the heights to the more modern one in the plain (Zonar. VIII. 18); and that names were sometimes multiplied is proved by Pliny, who mentions (N. H. III. 8) Clusium Vetus and Clusium Novum, Aretium Vetus, Aretium Fidens, and Aretium Juliense.

Having now noticed the requisites to be borne in mind when in quest of the long-lost Vetulonia, and having stated my objections to the site assigned to it by Inghirami, and assented to by other antiquarians, I must mention my own conjecture that

the city recently discovered near Magliano may be the one in question.

With regard to size, this site indicates what we are looking for—a city of first-rate importance. In situation it has already been shewn to answer the description of Vetulonia, near enough the sea to agree with Pliny's "non procul a mari," and far enough from it to come within the category of "intus coloniæ;" being exactly as distant from the shore as Tarquinii and Cære, which are similarly classed—that is, about four miles. The existence of hot springs in the valley of the Cornia first drew the attention of Inghirami in that direction, and induced him to make the researches that resulted in his fixing the site of Vetulonia on the hill of Castiglion Bernardi. The "aquæ calidæ ad Vetulonios" he considers to be represented by the modern Caldane in the valley between Populonia and Campiglia, about three miles from the shore, and twelve from the aforesaid hill. But this is a questionable distance. Now I ascertained that in the vicinity of the newly-found city, near Telamonaccio, and two or three hundred yards from the sea, are hot springs, which answer much better the description "ad Vetulonios"—for Pliny had just before been speaking of the hot springs "Patavinorum" and "Pisanorum," and then adds "ad Vetulonios," as if to imply that they were not merely in the territory possessed by the town, but actually at it, or in its immediate neighbourhood. Unfortunately I was not able to return to the coast to visit these springs, and therefore cannot bear testimony to their precise site and condition.

The absence of Roman remains on the site of the city seems to mark it as having ceased to exist at or before the period of Roman domination. But Pliny and Ptolemy shew Vetulonia to have existed in later times, and their evidence is corroborated by an inscription found at Arezzo, and given by Gruter (p. MXXIX. 7).

This may easily be reconciled. Seeing that there are many Roman remains in its immediate vicinity and further inland, it is probable that the colony mentioned by Pliny was established (perhaps, as in the case of Veii, after the ancient city had lain desolate for centuries) on a spot in the neighbourhood, not on the original site, which was abandoned as too low, and too near the unhealthy swamps of the coast.

I have already shewn the evidently maritime character of this

newly-found city, and its almost necessary connection with the port of Telamon. An analysis of the passage in Silius Italicus will lead us to the conclusion that Vetulonia must have been a seaport, or at least so situated as to be able to carry on a foreign commerce. That city which first introduced the use of ivory chairs and Tyrian purple into Etruria must surely have had direct intercourse with the East, such as could not have been maintained by a city far removed from the coast. Dionysius (III. c. 61, p. 195) tells us also, that the purple robes which the Etruscan cities sent to Tarquin among the other insignia of royalty in token of submission to his authority, were such as were worn by the Lydian and Persian monarchs, differing only in form. Now, without entering on the question of the origin of the Etruscan race, whether foreign or indigenous, I may state that it is evident that a city which first introduced a foreign custom like this must, if that custom were brought directly from the East by its founders, have been on, or near, the coast; or if subsequently, owing to commercial relations with those lands, must either have been, or have had, a port. The last line of the passage refers to the trumpet which is universally acknowledged to be of Tyrrhene invention. Silius Italicus elsewhere (v. 9) asserts that Tyrrhenus, the Lydian colonist of Etruria, introduced the trumpet into warfare:

> Isque insueta tubæ monstravit murmura primus
> Gentibus, et bellis ignava silentia rupit.

From this, taken in conjunction with the other passage, there arises a strong probability that the poet meant to imply that Tyrrhenus landed first at, or near, Vetulonia—a statement not opposed to any other passage in the ancient writers—and this tends to the corroboration of the maritime character of that city.

But that such was the character of Vetulonia is set beyond a doubt by a monument found at Cervetri in 1840, and now in the Museum of San Giovanni in Laterano. It is a bas-relief, representing the symbols of three Etruscan cities—Tarquinii, Vulci, and Vetulonia; the latter, which is indicated by the inscription VETVLONENSES, is symbolized by a naked man with an oar on his shoulder, and holding in his hand a pine-cone, which he seems to have plucked from the tree over his head. Dr. Emil Braun, secretary of the Archæological Institute

of Rome, who has described the monument in the Annals of the Institute (1842, p. 37), remarks—" That this figure represents Neptune seems to me beyond a doubt; it is shewn, not only by the attribute in his hand, but also by the tree sacred to that deity which stands at his side. However it be, no one can presume to deny that the figure bearing an oar indicates a maritime city, such as Pliny in truth implies Vetulonia to have been."

Dr. Braun is of opinion, in which he is joined by the Cav. Canina (*Bullet. dell' Istit.* 1840, 93), that this bas-relief formed one of the sides of a square pedestal, and that the three other sides bore similar emblems of other cities—the twelve confederates of the great Etruscan League. This seems indeed highly probable, and may be admitted as presumptive evidence of the power and magnificence of Vetulonia.

It will be seen at once how utterly incompatible is the hill of Castiglion Bernardi, fourteen or fifteen miles from the sea, and on no navigable river, with the site of a great maritime city, such as Vetulonia must have been.

Cav. Inghirami lays great stress on the latitude and longitude assigned to Vetulonia by Ptolemy; so much so, that he proposes to make it the basis of his researches for the site of the city (p. 93). Seeing that Ptolemy fixes the longitude of Populonium at 33° 30′, of Vetulonium at 34°, and of Sæna at 34° 20′; and gives to Populonium a latitude of 42°, to Vetulonium of 42° 30′, and to Volaterra of 42° 40′, he concludes that Ptolemy meant to assign to Vetulonia a site between the three cities of Populonia, Volterra, and Siena, which he thinks may correspond with the hill of Castiglion Bernardi. If the above statements of Ptolemy be correct, as Inghirami assumes, the site of Vetulonia must be looked for at Monte Guidi, north of the Cæcina, in a direct line between Pomerance and Siena, about twenty-five miles from the sea, and very far north of Castiglion Bernardi[7]. But the truth is, that no dependence can be placed on the positions indicated by Ptolemy, who is much more often wrong than right; and if the towns of Etruria were arranged according to the latitudes and longitudes given in his tables, we

[7] Inghirami, however, has quoted Ptolemy incorrectly. That geographer states that the latitude of Ποπλώνιον ἄκρον is 42°, but of the πόλις 42° 30′; [illegible] assuming this to be correct, a[illegible] should look for Vetulonia near Perolla, to the south-east of Massa, and as remote as Monte Guidi from the hill of Castiglion [illegible]

should have a completely new map of that land. How indeed can we expect the accuracy of modern calculations, seeing the imperfect state of geographical science in his day? Not being able personally to visit every country he described, he was compelled to take his data from the charts then existing, from itineraries, and from the accounts of travellers and previous geographers, and the marvel is, that with such materials he should in any case approximate to the truth.

By taking certain of Ptolemy's statements as correct, to the exclusion of the rest, Inghirami obtains a latitude for Vetulonia between the parallels of Populonia and Volterra; but if I take certain other of his statements as fixed and ascertained, I arrive in the same manner at a widely different conclusion. For instance, Ptolemy assigns to Cære a latitude of 41° 56′, to Saturnia of 42° 40′, and to Vetulonium of 42° 30′, which gives us a spot half a degree to the south of Populonia, instead of as much to the north, as Inghirami has considered him to indicate. But the latitudes of Cære and Saturnia happen to be perfectly correct (which cannot be said of those assigned to Populonia and Volterra), and that of Vetulonium is almost precisely that of the newly found city, which is 42° 33′, instead of 42° 30′. Again, by assuming that Ptolemy is correct in the longitude he assigns to Luca 33°, to Cortona and Volsinii each 35°, I obtain a relative position for Vetulonia, whose longitude he calls 34°, exactly corresponding with that of this newly found city. I do not adduce these things as substantial evidence in favour of my opinion, for Ptolemy is so full of errors and inconsistencies, that it is impossible to argue correctly from any of his statements, but I cite them merely to shew, that by assuming certain of his data to be correct, to the exclusion of the rest, he may be forced to favour almost any opinion. This at least is evident, that any mode of interpretation favouring the view of Castiglion Bernardi being the site of Vetulonia may be applied with equal, nay superior, success to the newly found city near Magliano.

Be this city Vetulonia or not, it is clear that it must have been of great importance in the early history of Italy; as it is not surpassed in size, or excelled in advantages of situation, navally or commercially, by any city of that age and country. Future researches will perhaps remove the uncertainty which hangs over this long-forgotten city.

GEORGE DENNIS.

XVI.

ON THE STUDY OF SANSCRIT, AND F. BOPP'S VERGLEICHENDE GRAMMATIK DER SANSCRIT, ZEND, GRIECH, LAT., &c. (BERLIN, 1833, &c. 4to.)

IN the year 1787 Sir W. Jones, in his fourth anniversary address to the Asiatic Society, took occasion to pronounce, that Europe was indebted to the university of Leyden for such knowledge of the Arabic language as was then accessible to her students. Since the period of that discourse, another great field of inquiry has been opened in the East, in the earlier exploration of which Sir W. Jones himself was the conspicuous leader. In the case of the Sanscrit, British followers of that great man have lived, and still live, sufficient in number and talent, to save us from a confession of exclusive reliance on foreign assistance, which would be disgraceful to us as rulers of the Indian peninsula. Even, however, with regard to this region, which the ordinary rules of the division of intellectual labour would assign specially to this country, in one respect, second to none in importance, and intimately connected with the objects of this publication, we are still obliged to accord a pre-eminence to German talent and assiduity; nor can we avoid the confession that, for assistance in a certain direction of inquiry, the English student must resort to Berlin, Bonn, or Copenhagen, rather than to Oxford or Calcutta—our meaning is this, that if he wish to master the Sanscrit itself, and for itself, he can doubtless obtain at home the key to its treasures; but if, with more comprehensive views, he desire to trace its relations to those numerous languages of which it is the common source, he must seek such foreign auxiliaries as Rask, Burnouf, Lassen, Westergaard, and Bopp. We are far from undervaluing the former object; even if we could adopt Mr. Mill's low standard of the value of Sanscrit science and literature, we should still consider it the duty of England to push their investigation to the utmost. The second object, however, is one more catholic in its nature; it will be found to interest the philologer of every country in Europe. It has nothing to do with the questionable value or disputed antiquity of Sanscrit records. The Ramayan and Mahabarat may be the nonsense Mr. Mill describes them, the Sacontala an insipid farce, and the C[illegible]
the language itself may be a system in ·

complication are raised to their highest power. The fact will still remain, that subjects of every government in Europe are writing and speaking living derivatives of that language, that every university is occupied in teaching its two noblest extinct varieties, and that philology must cease to exist as a study and a science, when interest ceases to attach to the exploration of a connection so curious and so extensive as that which binds together the members of the Indo-Germanic family. In this point of view, the Sanscrit claims an indisputable preference, as a subject of European research, over the two other great streams of language which seem to have descended from the Caucasus,—the Semitic and the monosyllabic system which has pervaded China. So far, indeed, as the Greek language is concerned, the English student has already access to a valuable repertory of information in the Cratylus of Mr. Donaldson. For a more comprehensive view of this vast subject, he will, however, find it necessary to resort to Mr. Bopp's Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, and German languages. We are inclined to believe that a translation of this extraordinary work would requite the toil of its execution. The undertaking is not without difficulty. We believe at this moment the Berlin press is the only one in Europe provided with types of the Zend language, and it is obvious that no work of this description can be published in England, except by means of large pecuniary assistance from some quarter, public or private. We have, however, reason to hope that these difficulties might be overcome, and we consider the victory worth the effort. It may, indeed, be alleged that translation is in this case superfluous, because the probable readers, fit though few, will be masters of the German medium through which the Berlin professor has conveyed his knowledge. We apprehend, however, that many a future student, who may not have found time or opportunity to familiarize himself with German at Addiscombe or Hertford, would thank a translator for having spared him that preliminary exertion; and we think that, by appearing in an English form, the work itself would obtain in England all that it wants for its due appreciation,—notoriety. That portion of the work which concerns the Zend language will derive some additional interest at this moment from the circumstance of the controversy which is now in progress at Bombay, between Pro-

testant missionaries and the Parsi depositaries of the faith of Zoroaster. It was said of Hugh Broughton, a very arrogant divine of James the First's reign, who left this country in disgust that he had not been employed on the translation of the Bible, that he was gone abroad to teach the Jews Hebrew. A Danish professor, Mr. Westergaard, following the steps and example of Anquetil and Rask, is now, we believe, in India, pursuing his researches into the extinct language above mentioned; and it would be neither sarcasm nor exaggeration to say, that he or his fellow labourers, Bopp, Lassen, and Burnouf, would be competent to teach the Parsi more than the latter could convey in return of the real meaning of the original Zendavesta text. Meanwhile, controversy is raging at Bombay, in religious periodicals, and in the Gujaráti language, a curious account of which will be found in the work of Mr. J. Wilson, missionary of the Church of Scotland at Bombay, on the Parsi religion. The rich and educated votaries of Zoroaster seem disposed to spare neither money nor labour in protecting the dying flame of their once powerful superstition from the breath of Christianity. It is difficult, however, to imagine that men who have received an English education, who are able to read our classics, and have passed through schools in which Abercrombie on the Intellectual Powers is a class-book, should cling in after-life to the Vandidad or the Yacna.

The best explanation of the object and compass of Professor Bopp's work will be derived from the following translated extracts from his own preface:—

"I contemplate in this work a description of the organism of the languages enumerated in the title-page, comparative, and comprehending all the features of their relationship, an inquiry into their physical and mechanical laws, and the origin of the forms which distinguish their grammatical relations. One point alone we leave untouched, the secret of the roots, or the foundation of the nomenclature of the primary ideas; we investigate not, for example, why the root I signifies go and not stand; why the combination of sounds STHA, or STA, signifies stand and not go. We attempt, however, in addition, to follow out, as it were, the language in its stages of being and march of developement, yet in such a manner that those who are predetermined not to recognize as explained that which they maintain to be inexplicable, may perhaps find less to offend

them in this work than the avowal of such a tendency might lead them to expect. In the majority of cases the primary signification, and with it the primary source, of the grammatical forms, present themselves to observation in virtue of the extension of the circle of our knowledge of languages, and of the confronting of sister stems separated for ages, but bearing indubitable features of their family connection.

"In the treatment, indeed, of our European tongues, a new epoch could not fail to open upon us in the discovery of another quarter in the world of language, namely, the Sanscrit, of which it has been demonstrated, that in its grammatical construction it stands in the most intimate relation to the Greek, the Latin, the Germanic, &c., so that it has for the first time afforded a firm foundation for the comprehension of the grammatical connection between the two languages called the classical, as well as of the relation of these two to the German, the Lithuanian, and Sclavonic. Who, a century since, could have dreamed that a language would be brought to us from the far East, which should accompany pari passû, nay sometimes surpass, the Greek in all those perfections of form which have been hitherto considered the exclusive property of the latter, and be adapted throughout, to adjust the perennial strife between the Greek dialects, by enabling us to decide where each of them has preserved the purest and oldest forms?

"The relations of the ancient Indian languages to their European kindred are in part so palpable as to be obvious to every one who casts a glance at them, even from a distance; in part, however, so concealed, so deeply implicated in the most secret passages of the organism of the language, that we are compelled to consider every language subjected to comparison with it, as also the language itself, from new stations of observation, and to apply the highest powers of grammatical science and method in order to recognize and illustrate the original unity of the different grammars. The Semitic languages are of a more compact nature, and, putting out of sight lexicographical and syntactical features, extremely meagre in contrivance; they had little to part with, and of necessity have handed down to succeeding ages what they were at starting endowed with. The triconsonantal fabric of their roots, which distinguishes this race from others, were of itself sufficient to designate the parentage of every individual of the family. The family bond,

on the other hand, which embraces the Indo-European race of language, is not indeed less universal, but in most of its bearings of a quality infinitely more refined. The members of this race inherited, from the period of their earliest youth, endowments of exceeding richness, and with the ability the methods also for system of unlimited composition and agglutination. Possessing much, they were able to bear the loss of much, and yet to retain their locutory life; and by multiplied losses, alterations, suppressions of sounds, conversions, and displacements, the members of the common family are become scarcely recognizable to each other. It is at least a fact that the relation of the Greek to the Latin, the most obvious and palpable, though never quite overlooked, has been, down to our time, grossly misunderstood, and that the Roman tongue, which in a grammatical point of view is mixed up with nothing but itself, or with what is of its own family, is even now usually regarded as a mixed language, because in fact it contains much which sounds heterogeneous to the Greek, although the elements from which these forms arose, are not foreign to the Greek and other sister languages, as I have endeavoured partly to demonstrate in my system of conjugations.

"The close relationship between the classical and Germanic languages has, with the exception of mere comparative lists of words, destitute of principle and critical judgment, remained, down to the period of the appearance of the Asiatic intermediary, almost entirely unobserved, although the intercourse of philologists with the Gothic dates now from a century and a half, and that language is so perfect in its grammar, and so clear in its affinities, that, had it been earlier submitted to a rigid and systematic process of comparison and anatomical investigation, the pervading relation of itself, and with it of the entire Germanic stock, to the Greek and Roman, would necessarily have long since been tracked through all its directions, and by this time understood and recognized by every philologer. For what is more important, or can be more earnestly desired by the cultivation of the classical languages, than their comparison with our common parent in her oldest and most perfect form? Since the Sanscrit has appeared above our horizon, that element can no longer be excluded from any really profound exploration of any district of language related to it, a fact, however, which sometimes escapes the notice of the

most approved and circumspect labourers in this department. We need not fear that practical solidity *in utrâque linguâ*, on which the philologer mainly depends, can suffer prejudice by extension over too many languages; for the variety vanishes when the real identity is recognized and explained, and the false light of discrepancy is intercepted. It is one thing also to learn a language, another to teach one—i. e. to describe its mechanism and organism. The learner may confine himself within the strictest limits, and forbear to look beyond the narrowest boundaries of the language to be studied; the teacher's glance, on the contrary, must pass beyond the narrow limits of one or two members of a family, and he must summon around him the representatives of the entire race, in order to infuse life, order, and organic mutual dependency into the mass of the languages spread before him. To attempt this appears to me the main requirement of the present period, and past centuries have been accumulating the materials for the task.

"The Zend grammar can only be recovered by the process of a severe, regular etymology, calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little; for this remarkable language, which in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on the Sanscrit, and makes its theory more attainable, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster. Rask, who had the opportunity to satisfy himself on this head, says expressly (V. D. Hagen, p. 33), that its forgotten lore has yet to be re-discovered. We are also able, as we believe, to demonstrate that the Pehlvi translator (T. II. p. 476 ff) of the Zend vocabulary, edited by Anquetil, has frequently and entirely failed in conveying the grammatical sense of the Zend words which he translates. The work abounds with singular mistakes, and the distorted relation of Anquetil's French translation to the Zend expressions is usually to be ascribed to the mistakes in the Pehlvi interpretations of the Zend original.

"Almost all the oblique cases by degrees come to take rank as nominatives; the numbers also are sometimes mistaken. We afterwards find forms of cases produced by the Pehlvi translator as verbal persons, and next, these also confounded with each other, or translated by abstract names. Anquetil makes, as far as I know, no remark on the age of the vocabulary to which we advert, while he ascribes to another, in which

the Pehlvi is interpreted through the Persian, an antiquity of four centuries. The one in question can therefore not be ascribed to any very late period; the necessity indeed of interpretation to the Zend must have been felt much sooner than to the Pehlvi, which remained much longer current among the Parsee tribes. It was, therefore, an admirable problem which had for its solution the bringing to light in India, and so to say, under the very eye of the Sanscrit, a sister language no longer understood, and obscured with the rubbish of ages; a solution indeed not hitherto fully obtained, but beyond doubt destined to be so. The first contribution to the knowledge of this language which can be relied on, that of Rask, namely, his treatise 'On the Age and Authenticity of the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta,' published in 1826, and made generally accessible by V. D. Hagen's translation, deserves high honour as a first attempt. The Zend has to thank this able man for the more natural appearance it has derived from his rectification of the values of its written characters, making us the more regret his premature decease. Of three words of different declensions he gives us the singular inflections, and although with some sensible deficiencies, yet exactly in particulars of the highest interest; and displaying that independence of the Sanscrit which Rask claims perhaps in too high a degree for the Zend, a language we are, however, unwilling to receive as a mere dialect of the Sanscrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the old northern with the Gothic. For the rest I refer the reader to my review of Rask's and Bohlen's *Zendschriften*, in the *Berlin Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* for December, 1831, as also to an earlier essay (March, 1831) on the able labours of E. Burnouf in this newly opened field. My observations, derived from the original texts edited by Burnouf in Paris, and by Orshausen in Hamburgh, already extend in these publications over all parts of the Zend grammar, and nothing therefore has remained for me but further to establish, to complete, and to adjust, in such a manner that the reader may be conducted on a course parallel with that of the known languages, with the greatest facility, towards an acquaintance with the newly discovered sister tongue. In order to obviate the difficulty, and the labour which attends the introduction of the learner to the

Zend and Sanscrit, difficulty sufficient to alarm and to exhaust, I have either appended to the original characters the pronunciation, laid down on a consistent method, or, in places where, for reasons of space, one character alone is given, it is the Roman. This method is also perhaps the best for the gradual introduction of the reader to the knowledge of the original characters.

"As in this work the languages it embraces are treated for their own sakes, i. e. as objects and not means of knowledge, and as we aim rather at a physiology of them than at an introduction to their practical use, it has been in our power to omit many particulars which contribute nothing to the character of the whole, and we have gained thereby more space for the discussion of matter more important and more intimately incorporated with the vital spirit of the language. By this process and by the rigid observance of a method which brings under one view all points mutually dependent and mutually explanatory, I have, as I flatter myself, succeeded in bringing together under one whole, and in reasonable space, the leading incidents of many richly endowed languages, or grand dialects of an extinct original stock. Special care has throughout been bestowed on the German. This care was indispensable to one who, following Grimm's admirable work, aimed at applying to it correction and adjustment in his theory of relations, the discovery of new affinities or more precise definition of those discovered, and to catch with greater truth, at every step of grammatical progress, the monitory voices of the Asiatic as well as the European sisterhood."

FRANCIS EGERTON.

XVII.

THE LICINIAN ROGATION, DE MODO AGRI OR AGRORUM.

THE object of the following paper is to make a few remarks on that Licinian Rogation (the second) which relates to land (de modo agri), and to shew that the land to which the Roga-

tion applied was only public land. Any discussion of this subject might seem almost unnecessary after what Niebuhr has done; for if there is any point in Roman history which he has established on a sure basis, it is the nature of possession in the public land, and the general character of the Second Rogation of Licinius. In discussing the Licinian Rogations (III. 12. Engl. trans.), he merely observes: "At present, as the nature of that possession is explained, and no longer questionable, it will not be disputed that Livy, though he does not name the domain land in his account of the Agrarian Law of Licinius, sufficiently indicates its object by choosing the word to *possess;* even if a Roman had not then understood, as a matter of course, that an Agrarian Law could only affect the Ager Publicus." In the lectures of Niebuhr, recently published by Dr. Schmitz (I. 323), Niebuhr observes: "There was a time when the name of the Gracchi was branded with infamy, and when they were looked upon as notorious only for their arbitrary proceedings, and as the ringleaders of a tyrannical faction; but such opinions, as well as the old view of the agrarian laws, are now undermined; and although the intricate nature of the Ager Publicus may not be universally understood, yet, in Germany, the correctness of the results of our historical investigations is generally recognized." It is added in a note, which is also assigned to Niebuhr by the editor: "with the exception, perhaps, of some obscure and isolated corner of Austria."

But opinions are at present not quite so settled, as the following passages will shew. Rudorff, in his elaborate essay on the Agrarian Law of Spurius Thorius (*Zeitschrift für Geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft*, x. p. 28), speaking of the Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus, observes: "Into the Sempronian law there was originally only so much taken out of the Licinian law as was absolutely necessary for the peculiar object of that (the Sempronian) law, and it is therefore a completely erroneous view to consider the Sempronian law merely as a revival of that older law. The Licinian enactments on the amount of private property, number of cattle, and the proper number of free labourers, were entirely given up. As to the possession of public land, the Sempronian law did indeed preserve the Licinian maximum of five hundred jugera," &c. From this it appears that the writer supposes the Licinian maximum of five hundred jugera to have applied to private property, and that

this maximum was transferred by the Sempronian law to public land. One might also infer that the writer considers the Licinian maximum of five hundred jugera to have applied both to private and public land; for this brief allusion to the Licinian law is expressed rather ambiguously: no argument is given in support of this view of the object of the Licinian Rogation, and all that the writer adds by way of proof is contained in a note, in which he refers to the several passages that treat of the Licinian laws. The object of Rudorff's essay is indeed quite unconnected with the discussion of the Licinian law, and any particular examination of it would have led him from the matter of his essay. We may however infer, from the mode in which he has referred to the provisions of this law, that he considers Niebuhr's view of them as partially erroneous.

Another German writer (Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen*, Leipzig, 1841, Vol. I. p. 202, &c.) views the matter thus: "After the Gallic war, a great part of the plebs had become very poor, and encumbered with debt; and in order to relieve them it was necessary to make an arrangement for the more easy discharge of their debts. But the plebeians had been compelled by their necessities to sell the chief part of their land, which had got into the hands of the rich, who had suffered least by the recent events. This *ingens cupido agros continuandi* (Livy, XXXIV. 4) was dangerous to the constitution, because the loss of their land by the mass of the plebs threw them out of that political position which was connected with the ownership of land. Besides this, the former owners of land could not get land on lease (als Pächter), or get their living out of the land in any other way, because the rich cultivated their lands by slaves (Appian, *De Bell. Civil.* I. 8). Small landowners were also injured by the rich feeding cattle on a very large scale, and thus excluding the small landowners from the enjoyment of the public pastures (saltus publici)." He then proceeds thus: "All this mischief it was proposed to remedy by the following regulations. In favour of those who were in a condition to recover their landed property by purchase, it was enacted, under a penalty, that no person should have more than five hundred jugera of land (lex Licinia de modo agri), nor more than one hundred head of large and five hundred of small cattle; and in favour of those who could not take advantage of the necessity imposed on the rich of selling a portion of their

lands, that the larger landowners, in a certain proportion, should employ poor people in the cultivation of their lands, instead of using only slaves as formerly. He who exceeded the measure (of five hundred jugera, &c.) might be sued before the people (volk) for an arbitrary penalty, as in the year 397 (A.U.C.) the proposer of the laws was himself condemned in the sum of ten thousand asses, on the ground of possessing one thousand jugera. He possessed only the half, the other half stood in the name of a son whom he had emancipated; but this circumstance helped him not, since it was imputed to him that the emancipation had been effected merely to evade the law, in fraudem legis." (Livy, VII. 16.) The author adds the following note to this passage: "The inaccuracy of the view which is maintained, particularly by Niebuhr, that the Lex Licinia was an agraria, consequently to be understood only as applying to the possession of the ager publicus, Huschke has shewn most completely in his essay on the passage in Varro, de Re Rustica, I. 2, 1835."

He then proceeds thus: "That the Lex Licinia de modo agri referred to property in land, must be considered as certain; the only question is, whether it did not also refer to the possessions of individuals in the ager publicus, so that such possessions also were included in those five hundred jugera. This is not probable. The censors let the public lands in perpetual leases (zu vererblichem recht), in consideration of a payment to the Aerarium; this was done without doubt in considerable masses; a division into smaller parcels would have made this business and the collection of the vectigal too troublesome. It was consequently a matter of public interest not to limit possession, which at least at that time was enabled to maintain itself against change. The poorer persons, it is true, were thus excluded from the immediate acquisition of such a possession, since they could not produce the sums of money which were necessary for the occupation of a considerable possession. On the other hand, the plebeians, as such, were already capable of taking such possessions; and certainly the richer among them had already made great acquisitions of this kind. Accordingly, it was the interest of the most distinguished plebeians also, that as to possessions no limit should be fixed."

No authorities are cited in confirmation of this view of the Licinian Lex de modo agri, except those which have been given with this extract. The passages, that will be presently referred

to, will shew how much of this extract from Puchta is founded on evidence, how much is contradicted by evidence, and how much of it is pure invention. A recent French writer (Dureau de la Malle, *Economie Politique des Romains*) maintains that the Licinian law only applied to private property, and that the law of Tiberius Gracchus was, in this respect, a restoration of it (II. 280, 282). On this view he forms the theory that the laws of Licinius and Tiberius Gracchus had for their "object, to maintain equality of fortunes, and to create the legal right of all to attain office, which is the fundamental basis of democratic government." We shall presently see how far this view is supported by evidence. This work of Dureau de la Malle contains much useful matter, and is creditable to the author as the first attempt, as far as we know, to handle a subject of such extent and importance. But, unfortunately, the author's economical opinions, and some of his political views also, have laid so strong hold of him, as to render him incapable of opening his eyes to the evidence that he has himself collected. For instance, he maintains that the laws of T. Sempronius Gracchus applied to private land; and yet, when he is discoursing of the proposed laws of the tribune, P. Servilius Rullus, B.C. 63, he refers to the following passage in the second oration against Rullus (c. 5):—"Tiberium et C. Gracchos plebem in agris publicis constituisse, qui agri a privatis antea possidebantur." Cicero's evidence is not wanted to shew what the laws of the Gracchi were, but, whatever may be its value, it is entirely opposed to the assertion of Dureau de la Malle. This writer's examination of the Licinian law is too superficial to deserve any further notice.

Probably there may be other recent essays on this subject, but we are not acquainted with them; and that of Huschke we only know from what Puchta says of it.

The second proposed law of C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius is briefly expressed, in the following terms, by Livy (VI. 35):—"Alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri possideret." As Livy was writing for his countrymen, this description, it may be presumed, was considered sufficient. The object of the Lex was to put a limit to *possession* of *lands*. What Livy meant by *possession*, and what *lands* he referred to, must be collected from other passages of his work.

In his second book (c. 41) he states, that in the consulship

of Spurius Cassius and Proculus Virginius, a treaty was made with the Hernici, and that two-thirds of their land (ager) were taken from them. Cassius proposed to give one-half of the acquired land to the Latins, and the other half to the Roman plebs. He proposed to add to the lands to be distributed some public land, which, as he alleged, was *possessed* by private persons: this measure alarmed many of the patricians, who were themselves the possessors:—"adjiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum quem publicum possideri a privatis criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat." Livy adds, that this was the first time that an agrarian law was proposed, a kind of measure which, up to his times, had never been agitated without causing the most violent commotions.

In this passage the verb *possideo* is applied to the occupation of public land, that is, land belonging to the Roman state, by private persons, who are called *possessores*, in respect of the occupation of such land. Now if the words possideo and possessor in Livy only apply to public land, the omission of the word publici in the passage of Livy (VI. 35) could cause no ambiguity, for the word possideret would be sufficient, as Niebuhr observes, to indicate the subject-matter of this possessio.

The omission of the word public may be observed in other passages of Livy. He is speaking of public land being assigned to the Roman citizens who were sent to colonize Satricum (VI. 16):—"bina jugera et semisses agri assignati." When the subject of public land is on any occasion first introduced, Livy always appears to use some word that shall indicate what is meant, or his meaning is apparent from the context. Either the word publicus or the word possideo is sufficient to express his meaning. But the two words are frequently combined, as in the following passage, where he is speaking of the newly-acquired Pomptine territory, which the tribunes proposed to divide among the plebs (VI. 5): "Nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici grassari, nec nisi antequam omnia præcipiant divisus sit, locum ibi plebi fore." This territory is again spoken of in this chapter, and also in the following, simply as 'ager': that it was Roman land and public was already made apparent by what had preceded. In another passage (VI. 14) the verb possideo is again connected with publici agri: "nec jam possidendis publicis agris contentos esse (the patricians), nisi pecu-

niam quoque publicam avertant." The following passage might by itself be ambiguous (Livy IV. 36): "Agri publici dividendi coloniarumque deducendarum ostentatæ spes; et vectigali possessoribus agrorum imposito in stipendium militum erogandi æris." This passage alone would not shew who were meant by possessores agrorum; but it shews that it was public land which was divided among the plebs: and this is not unimportant. Another passage, also in the fourth book, is to the same effect; the forty-seventh chapter ends thus, "discordia domi ex agrariis legibus fuit." The next chapter begins with a proposal to divide among the plebs the land which was possessed by the patricians: "Quum (tribuni) rogationem promulgassent ut ager ex hostibus captus viritim divideretur, magnæque partis nobilium eo plebiscito publicarentur fortunæ, nec enim ferme quidquam agri ut in urbe alieno solo posita non armis partum esset nec quod venisset adsignatumque publice esset præterquam plebs habebat, atrox," &c. This was a proposal to give lands to the plebs, the land was public land, and it was in the possession of the patricians. It could only be given to the plebs by being taken from the patricians. The notion then which we get from this and other passages in Livy, before he comes to speak of the Licinian Rogations, is, that allotments were given to the plebs out of the conquered land, which might be and often was in the possession of the patricians. Not the slightest intimation occurs that the plebs were to be enriched in any other way than this, at the expense of the other order. In the forty-ninth chapter of the fourth book, the tribune Sextius, when proposing an Agrarian law and the settlement of a colony at Bolæ, argued that the city and the land ought to belong to the soldiers who had taken them. The territory of Bolæ being captured was 'publicus ager,' and the tribune here makes a claim to it on behalf of the army and against the patricians, who, according to usage, would claim it as theirs, and occupy it in the way of possession. Another passage in the fifty-first chapter of the fourth book will confirm the last remark: "aptissimum tempus erat vindicatis seditionibus delenimentum animis Bolani agri divisionem objici: quo facto minuissent desiderium agrariæ legis quæ possesso per injuriam agro publico patres pellebat. Tunc hæc ipsa indignitas angebat animos non in retinendis modo publicis agris quos vi teneret pertinacem nobilitatem esse, sed ne vacuum quidem agrum

nuper ex hostibus captum plebi dividere; mox paucis ut cætera futurum prædæ." This passage contains as much as we could expect to learn from an historian about the public land. Livy's object was not to write a treatise on agrarian laws or on public land, but to describe as they occurred the disputes on this subject. According to his view, the patricians did claim all the public land as their own, and the claim may have been constitutionally legal. As the plebs increased in power, they preferred their claim to participate in the public land as a right. The patricians would not acknowledge the right, but from political motives they conceded from time to time; and Livy mentions a notable instance of this in the fourth book, chapter forty-seven, after the capture of Lavici: "opportune Senatus, priusquam ab tribunis plebis agrariæ seditiones mentione inlata de agro Lavicano dividendo fierent, censuit frequens coloniam Lavicos deducendam. Coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti missi bina jugera acceperunt."

The use of the word possideo, as applied to public land, is not confined to the early books of Livy. It is the invariable use of the word by this historian (XLII. 1): "Senatui placuit L. Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a privato terminandum in Campaniam ire, cujus ingentem modum *possidere* privatos paulatim proferendo fines constabat." Nor is this use of the word possideo peculiar to Livy. Cicero, in his Orations on the Agrarian Bill of Rullus, uses the word in the same way, in a passage, a part of which has been quoted (II. 5): "Venit enim mihi in mentem duos clarissimos, ingeniosissimos, amantissimos plebis Romanæ viros, Tiberium et Caium Gracchos, plebem in agris publicis constituisse qui agri a privatis antea possidebantur."

If any doubt can still remain as to the meaning of Livy when he uses the words (VI. 35) "ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri possideret," it is completely removed by the general context of the sixth book. The passages already cited shew that the possession of the public land by the patricians had been spoken of several times in this book and elsewhere. The complaints against the occupation of these lands by the patricians, and the proposals to divide them, or part of them, among the plebeians, have already been presented to the reader; and the omission of the word publici, in the passage in the thirty-fifth chapter, is not inconsistent with the usage of Livy, nor does it furnish any fair ground to charge him with want of precision.

Livy has few remarks of his own on the Licinian Rogations: he puts the remarks in the mouths of the speakers on the two opposite sides. But he has one remark which is worthy of some notice (c. 35): "omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniæ, honorum, discrimine proposito, conterriti patres;" the word ager refers to the Rogation for limiting the possession of land, pecunia to that for the relief of debtors, and honores to the proposal to make the consulship accessible to the plebeians. The alarm that these measures occasioned is consistent with the general remark of Livy on the effects of proposing agrarian laws (II. 41). Though the Rogations of Licinius related to other matters besides land, this measure about the land was one of the causes of alarm to the patricians: and, if we compare the passages in the second and the sixth books (II. 41, VI. 35), we cannot, according to just principles of interpretation, come to the conclusion that the land spoken of in the second book was a different kind of land from that spoken of in the sixth book.

The speeches which Livy puts into the mouths of various persons, shew how he supposed that the subject of the second Licinian Rogation was viewed by the opposite parties in the state; and these speeches at least explain what one party meant by enacting that no person should possess more than five hundred jugera of land. The military tribune, Fabius, says (VI. 36), addressing himself to the patricians: "Auderentne postulare, ut quum bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta jugera *habere* liceret? Ut singuli prope trecentorum civium *possiderent* agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut locum sepulturæ suus pateret ager." Here 'possiderent' is opposed to 'suus ager.' Possession is opposed to property. In the first part of the sentence public land is referred to, though the word public is not used; for there was no land except public land to distribute among the plebs. This word 'divido' is a word that is commonly used in the sense of distributing public land among the plebs, in certain equal measures (Livy IV. 36, V. 30). The words opposed to 'bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur' are 'plus quingenta jugera *habere*.' A remark will presently be made on this word 'habere.'

If, in the passage just quoted, 'bina jugera agri' mean two jugera of public land, it follows, according to the ordinary usage of language, that the 'quingenta jugera' must mean the

same kind of land, for no other word is added to shew that a different kind of land is meant.

In the following chapter (c. 37), the complaint against the patricians is this: "Atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec fœnore trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore, nisi alterum ex plebe consulem custodem suæ libertatis plebs fecisset." The passage already cited (VI. 5), "nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici grassari," &c. may serve as a comment on this expression in c. 37.

In another passage (VI. 39) Licinius and Sextius are haranguing the plebs in support of their measures. They say: "liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab injustis possessoribus extemplo si velit habere posse." Here the holders of the land in question are called possessores, and it has already been shewn in what sense Livy uses this word. In another part of the same speech he urges, that it was not reasonable that the people should be relieved of their debts and put in possession of the land which was wrongfully possessed by the nobles; and that those who were exerting themselves to procure these boons for the people should have nothing for their trouble. Livy represents the plebs as willing to vote for the Rogations which were to relieve them from their debts and to give them the lands which were possessed by the nobles, but indifferent as to the consulship being made open to the plebeians. He represents Licinius and Sextius as ambitious of the consulship, and not willing to give the people the relief and the advantages for which they were clamorous, unless they would assist the more wealthy and ambitious of their own class in obtaining admission to the highest honours of the state. He calls the occupiers of the lands in question possessores: the land was possessed by them wrongfully, and this was the land that was to be divided among the plebs, as soon as the possessors were turned out of it.

Appius Claudius Crassus (VI. 40) addresses the Quirites in a speech which we must assume that Livy intended to make as appropriate to a proud patrician, as the speeches of Licinius and Sextius are to a demagogue. Appius mainly argues against the admissibility of the plebeians to the consulship. This was the strong part of his argument. The technical reasons which he urges against a plebeian consul are in the spirit of the old Roman constitution; and they were valid reasons against every

argument, except that of public utility or necessity. He merely says a few words about the lands and the debt (c. 41): "Sextius et Licinius, tanquam Romulus et Tatius, in urbe Roma regnent, quia pecunias alienas, quia agros dono dant. Tanta dulcedo est ex alienis fortunis prædandi: nec in mentem venit altera lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo finibus dominos; altera fidem abrogari, cum qua omnis humana societas tollitur." Here there is nothing about possessiones or public land. Appius calls the occupiers of the lands in question 'owners' (domini)[1]. Livy has made him speak suitably to his class and his interests. The possessors did not admit that they could be justly ejected. If Livy had represented Appius as admitting that the patricians wrongfully possessed the public land, he would have been making him speak to no purpose. Livy has consistently made Sextius and Licinius charge the patricians with wrongfully occupying public land; and Appius as simply denying the fact, and using no arguments in support of his denial. It is clear, then, from the whole tenor of Livy's narrative, that the subject of the second Licinian Rogation was the public land, which, according to the peculiar constitution of Rome, was at this time possessed by the patricians, and according to Livy's narrative, by them only. Livy does not give his opinion as to the justice of the patricians' claim to this land; nor is that a matter of any importance here. The tenor of his narrative shews that public land was possessed by private persons: he represents the party of Licinius as urging that the possession was wrongful, and that a limit should be put to the amount of such land which a private person should occupy; he represents the patricians as claiming the land as their own, and urging the impolicy of driving them out of it. Now the patricians might fairly allege that the immediate effect of disturbing them in their possessions, would be to convert cultivated tracts into deserts; for Livy has already stated in this book, that the want of agricultural capital (instrumentum) rendered the plebs indifferent on one occasion when a proposal was brought forward for giving them lands. In fact, the Roman assignments of land must often have resulted in a deterioration of the agri-

[1] In Livy, IV. 53, the tribune, M. Maenius, uses this expression: "Si injusti domini possessione agri publici cederent;" every word of which is full of meaning in the mouth of a tribune, and would have been an absurdity in the mouth of a patrician.

culture of the country, simply on account of the poverty of those to whom the lands were given.

It is clear to those who have studied the history of Rome that in the earlier periods there were two distinct bodies in the Roman state; there were two self-existing societies, the patricians and the plebeians. The patricians were originally the state; and even after the plebeians were constituted an estate, the patricians claimed, and had so many exclusive privileges, that the sovereignty must be considered as residing in this body. Now if the patricians were the sovereign body, the plebeians, though they formed an estate by themselves, were in no other relation to the sovereign body than subjects, and the sovereign body would as such claim the ownership of all the public lands, which by the very force of the term public would belong exclusively to the patricians, who might give them, if they pleased, to the plebs, or allow their own body or any other persons to occupy them in any way that they thought proper. The contest between the patricians and plebeians, which is the developement of the history of Rome, gradually changed the body in which the sovereign power resided. With the admission of the plebeians to the consulship, which was effected by one of the Rogations of Licinius, the old division between the patricians and the plebeians was broken down, and from this time we observe the formation of a new body at Rome, the nobiles or nobilitas (for the word nobilitas was also used like our word nobility, to signify a class), which consisted of those men who, whether of plebeian or patrician origin, had enjoyed the high honours of the state, and of their descendants. The struggle was now between the nobilitas, who were also the richer class, and those who were not nobiles, the majority of whom were poor; and the exclusive privileges which once of right belonged to the patricians as such, could not be claimed by the nobiles. This change altered the state of the question as to the public lands; and that possession which originally may have been a legitimate exercise of their power by the patricians, would become in course of time a usurpation by the nobiles, if they claimed to hold these lands to the perpetual exclusion of the plebeians from them whenever the state might wish to make a distribution of them among the poorer citizens. Livy gives no opinion on the question of the alleged wrongful possession by the patricians, but his history enables us to form

a judgment on the subject. He represents the patricians as alarmed about their landed property by the Rogation of Licinius; for we may reasonably infer that their possessions formed the chief part of the land held by the patricians. Whether their original title was legally right or wrong, the Rogation of Licinius threatened the existence of that body, whose possession of the land, whatever it may be to which it applied, was to be limited to five hundred jugera. We might not be disposed to differ from those who represent the Licinian Rogation as interfering with private property, if it shall be admitted that the land to which it applied was called and was public land, and that there was private land to which the Rogation did not apply. In fact, a measure which disturbed the possession of public land, which had been so long enjoyed by the possessors, for it does not appear that the law of Licinius was in any way limited as to time, was a violent revolution. But to suppose, with some modern writers, that the Licinian Rogation incapacitated any man from holding or owning more than five hundred jugera of any kind of land, is directly opposed to the whole tenor of Livy's narrative, and to all the evidence derived from other sources. It is clear from the narrative, that the law would operate on existing possessions, which would be cut down to five hundred jugera; for the loss of land and the loss of money by the proposed new arrangement between debtor and creditor are both spoken of in the same terms. Now, if men were to have their private estates cut down to five hundred jugera, in order that the overplus might be distributed among another class in the state, the law would apply both to patricians and plebeians; and that many of the plebeians were now rich is beyond all doubt. But Livy represents the contest about the land as a contest with the patricians, or, as he sometimes (improperly with reference to this period) terms them, the nobiles; and the complaints against this class with respect to land were, not that they were rich, but that they occupied the public land to the exclusion of all other people. Besides this, the difficulties that might be suggested, if it should be admitted that the terms of the Licinian Rogation apply to private land, are numerous; such a supposition makes the consistent narrative of Livy a heap of contradictions.

An argument has been founded on the word 'habere' in one of the passages cited from Livy (VI. 36)—"auderentne postu-

lare ut quum bina jugera agri plebi *dividerentur*, ipsis plus quingenta jugera *habere* liceret"—to the effect, that the word 'habere' here implies ownership, and therefore the land, which was to be limited to five hundred jugera, was private land. Such an argument could only proceed from a man who is wholly incapable of giving a just interpretation to words. The land (ager) spoken of in the first part of this claim is public land, and the word 'dividerentur,' as already explained, is a term used to express the division and assignment of public lands in ownership to the plebeians. The land to which 'habere' applies must of necessity be the same kind of land as that to which 'dividerentur' applies, for a grammatical reason already stated; and for this further reason.—The object of the speaker is to place in contrast the small amount of land that was often given to a plebeian, and the large amount that was to be left to a patrician by the proposed Rogation. Unless the land was the same kind of land, there would be no meaning in this contrast. If the argument was—the patricians by the proposed law will be allowed to keep their private property to the amount of five hundred jugera; can they ask for more, when the plebeians receive only two jugera a-piece of public land? Such an argument is impossible, and neither Livy nor any tolerable writer ever put such an argument into a man's mouth. The utmost that can be derived from the use of the word 'habere' in this passage is this: You, the plebeians, get only two jugera of *the* land (ager) a-piece; the proposed Rogatio leaves the possessors in quiet possession of five hundred a-piece: can they have the impudence to ask for more?

It may be observed, that the smallness of the assignments of public land to the plebeians was founded on two reasons, the number of the persons to receive, and their inability to cultivate more. There is a third reason, which does not appear in the Rogations of Licinius, as explained by Livy, but was the declared object of those of the Gracchi, and of other agrarian laws. This was the encouragement of procreation, by giving to free men a small piece of land, such as they and their children could cultivate; a measure that would always be followed by the contemplated result, unless, as in the later republic, and under the empire, the grantees were often old worn soldiers, past the age of marriage and the age of labour, and also, from habit, averse to field work, or, unless they were town-bred people, unaccustomed

to out-of-door work, to whom a grant of fertile land in Italy would be as useless as a present of a stone when they asked for bread. The encouragement of the procreation of children was always a part of the Roman policy; and in the days of the republic, when her struggle was sometimes for existence, and her aim was always at aggrandizement, it was a matter of importance that her citizens should breed soldiers. But if these were the reasons for the smallness of the assignments to the plebeians, what could be the reasons for allowing the patricians still to retain the possession of five hundred jugera? The only answer is, that the terms of the Rogation of Licinius, and the well-known smallness of the amount of land that was from time to time granted to the plebeians by the various agrarian laws, imply that the publicus ager was the property of the state; that the patricians must still be recognized as the state, and as the owners of the publicus ager; that the grants from time to time made to the plebeians were made out of the property of the state, that is, of the patricians; and that the present mode in which this body enjoyed that land was to be interfered with no further than to limit the amount of such possession, and for the purpose of thereby enabling the plebeians to receive their small grants. If this view is correct, we may form a juster estimate of the character of those subsequent enactments, which disturbed all possessions, however long they had been enjoyed.

The Licinian Rogation is mentioned (Livy, XXXIV. 4) in a speech which he puts into the mouth of M. Porcius Cato. It is there said, that the moving cause of the Licinian law was the great desire that people had to extend their landed property (ingens cupido agros continuandi); and the tenor of Cato's speech is to class the Licinian law among the sumptuary laws; and there is no objection to this view. One object was, no doubt, to break the power of the patrician body, by limiting their landed possessions; and, in the then condition of the Roman republic, if the patricians were excluded from the getting as much of the public land as they had before enjoyed, their wealth must have decreased. For, generally, they could not have the means of acquiring lands by purchase, like monied capitalists; and Rome had not yet acquired foreign territory, from the spoils of which the prætors and consuls of the later republic could draw, during their term of command, money enough to enrich themselves for life. The Licinian Rogation

was, therefore, a measure calculated to depress the patrician body; and, it may be admitted, that the mode in which the public land was held by them might give them great opportunities of confounding the boundaries of private and public land, and endeavouring thus to convert into ownership what was only a possession. A passage in Livy (XLII. 1), already cited, may be read in connection with this remark on the speech of Cato.

Gellius (XX. 1) also classes the Rogations of Licinius Stolo among the sumptuary laws: "Quid utilius est rogatione illa Stolonis jugerum de numero præfinito?" But whatever weight may be given to this expression of Gellius, it does not prove that even he considered that the limitation applied to private land; though it is admitted and contended, in our argument, that the measure of Licinius was, in the actual circumstances of the time, as effectual as if it had limited the ownership of private land to five hundred jugera; and perhaps more effectual, inasmuch as the chief property of the patricians probably consisted of such possessions.

In another passage of Gellius (VII. 3), where he is quoting from a speech of the same Cato in favour of the Rhodians, he gives this extract: "Quid nunc? et quæ tandem lex est tam acerba, quæ dicat....Si quis plus quingenta jugera habere voluerit, tanta pœna esto. Si quis majorem pecudum numerum habere voluerit, tantum damni esto. Atqui nos omnia plura habere volumus, et id nobis impune est." If we admit that Cato's words are correctly quoted, we must not therefore infer, that the law of Licinius contained the word 'habere' instead of 'possidere,' in connection with the words 'quingenta jugera.' But, in fact, no argument can be founded on the word 'habere,' a word of the most general signification, which does not necessarily imply the 'having' a thing as property. It is superfluous to quote examples to prove this assertion as to the use of the Latin word 'habere'[2].

The uses of the words possidere, possessio, possessor, by the Roman jurists, confirm the interpretation of the same words as applied to public land. Possession, independent of any right to the thing possessed, is an important subject in the Roman law of Things; and the peculiar rules of law connected with

[2] Vell. Paterculus, II. 16, uses the word 'habere' in speaking of the Licinian Rogation. Pliny, H. N. XVIII. 4, uses 'possidere.'

such possession, and the origin itself of this notion of possession, are, with great probability, referred by Savigny, to the law of possession as relating to the ager publicus. For though the possessor of the ager publicus was not the owner of it, his possession was legal against all people, except the state; and there must have been legal forms by which such possession was protected. What these legal forms were, we may collect, with great probability, from the legal forms applicable to the protection of possession of lands, which could be objects of private property. "Accordingly," as Savigny remarks (Das Recht des Besitzes, p. 174, fifth ed.), "we find for this possession of individuals in public land, consequently for one of the most important and common relations in ancient Rome, no mention anywhere of a distinct legal process, though, if we consider the Roman feeling for legal forms, we cannot doubt that such a legal process, and particularly some mode of protecting the possessor against arbitrary disturbance, was introduced. Now if we could only venture to assume, that the interdict relating to possession was also applicable to the ager publicus, we should solve two problems at the same time: for we should discover an original purpose in this possession, a first cause that led to it, and also, for the ager publicus, a legal form of process." It is impossible to study the rules of Roman law, with respect to possession, and to observe the use of the word possideo and other derived terms, without perceiving that there is a connection between the possessio of the Roman jurists who wrote when the ager publicus had almost ceased to exist, and that possessio which is so often mentioned by Livy.

The passage in Appian which relates to the agrarian laws of the Gracchi (I. 7, &c.) is, in the main, consistent with Livy, if we understand Livy in the sense already explained: "The Romans conquered Italy by degrees, and took a part of the land, in which they either built cities or sent colonists of their own to the cities already existing; and these colonies they considered as garrisons. Now of the land which, from time to time, they acquired in war, that which was under cultivation they immediately distributed among the colonists, or sold, or let. But as to the land which was then out of cultivation, owing to war, and this was the greater part, inasmuch as they had not yet time to distribute it, they gave public notice that, in the mean time, any persons who chose might cultivate it, on pay-

ment of a portion of the yearly produce, a tenth of the produce of arable land, and a fifth of the produce of planted land[3]. Rates of payment were also fixed for those who turned cattle on the land, both for great and small cattle. And this was done with a view to encourage population among the Italians, who were known to be a race exceedingly capable of enduring toil. But the thing turned out quite contrary to expectation. For the rich occupied the greater part of this undivided land, and, in course of time, feeling confident that it would never be taken from them, they got possession of the tracts near them, and whatever small portions of land belonged to the poor, partly by inducing the owners to sell, and partly by forcibly expelling them, and thus they cultivated wide plains instead of mere farms. They also used slaves as cultivators and shepherds, because free men were liable to be drawn off from field labour to military service; and this kind of possession also brought them most profit by the procreation of their slaves, who increased without any hazard, owing to their exemption from military service. In this way the rich became exceeding rich, and slaves swarmed all over the country. But the result was, that the Italians diminished in numbers, being ground down by poverty and taxes, and military service. And even when they had rest from war, they were compelled to remain inactive, as the land was occupied by the rich, who employed slaves instead of free labourers (c. 8). The Plebs took all this ill, as they saw no prospect of having for the future sufficient allies in Italy, and they thought that the Roman supremacy would be in danger on account of the number of slaves. But they could devise no remedy, inasmuch as it was not easy, nor yet altogether equitable, to deprive so many men, who had enjoyed them so long, of such large possessions, on which they had planted, raised buildings, and in which they had invested their capital. However, with some difficulty, at last, on the proposition of the tribunes, they determined, that no person should have more of this land than five hundred plethra, nor keep more than one hundred large animals, and five hundred smaller. And for these purposes, also, they imposed on them

[3] Not merely land planted with fruit-trees, as most suppose, but forest land also, as Dureau de la Malle observes; for instance, pine forests where pitch was made. Cic. *De Claris Orat.* 22. Vectigal picariarum Dig. L. tit. 16. s. 17. The readings, however, vary in both these passages.

a number of freemen to have, who were to watch the produce and report. Having comprised these matters in the law, they swore to the observance of it, and imposed a penalty, thinking that the rest of the land would be forthwith distributed at a price among the poor. But there was no regard paid to the laws or the oaths: but even those who affected to regard them, divided the land among members of their own family, in order to evade the law; but the greater part completely disregarded it."

Appian proceeds to state, in the ninth chapter, that Tiberius Gracchus spoke of the Italians as a warlike and kindred race, who were gradually coming to poverty and decreasing in numbers; he also inveighed against the maintaining such a body of slaves, who were useless for military service, and faithless to their masters. Accordingly he proposed to renew "the law, that no one should have more than five hundred plethra (jugera); but he proposed to allow the children (of the possessors) over and above the old law, the half of this amount; what remained was to be distributed among the poor by three select persons, changed every year (c. 10). But this annoyed the rich most, that they could not any longer, as before, violate the law, because of the persons appointed to distribute the land, nor buy from those who received allotments; for Gracchus had provided against this also by not permitting them to sell." What follows relates to the general subject of agrarian laws, and the particular hardship of this of T. Gracchus, rather than to the subject of this article. There is, however, one passage in the eleventh chapter which requires notice. The possessors complained loudly of the hardship of being turned out of the lands which they had so long held, and on which they had made many improvements. T. Gracchus endeavoured to pacify them by shewing that they were to be paid the full value of the improvements which they had made by the secure perpetual possession (κτῆσιν ἐς αἰεὶ βέβαιον) of five hundred jugera free of cost, and the half of this amount to their children.

It is not disputed by any competent authority, so far as we know, that the law of Tiberius Gracchus applied to public land only. This being assumed, it remains to shew, briefly, that Appian believed the former law to apply to public land also.

Appian begins his history of the civil wars by observing, "that the Roman plebs and senate had frequent disputes about

the enacting of laws, and the adjustment of debts, or the division of land, or the election of magistrates." He mentions the disputes about the division of land in pretty much the same terms that Livy does, when he speaks of the first agrarian law: but so far there is nothing to shew what land he means. He begins his seventh chapter by shewing how the Romans acquired land in Italy by conquest, and how it was disposed of. Such land as was not given to colonists, or sold, or let, was occupied by any person who chose, on certain conditions of payment. It was this undistributed land (*τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες*), of which the rich occupied the greater part, and to which they laid claim as their own by virtue of long possession. This was the land (c. 8), the exclusive possession of which by the rich was the cause of complaint among the plebs. This was the land to which applied the law that was carried with difficulty: *Μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα*: and the law thus referred to is admitted to be the Lex Licinia De Modo Agri; and indeed there is no reason for supposing that it can be any other.

A difficulty has been raised about the expression *τῆσδε τῆς γῆς*. Goettling (*Geschichte der Röm. Staatsverfassung*, p. 351, n. 5) remarks: "We must read *τῆσδε τῆς γῆς*, not *τῆς γῆς*, for the article would have no sense here. Yet Huschke defends this unmaintainable reading in his essay on the passage of Varro on the Licinian laws." The word *τῆσδε* is in two MSS. cited by Schweighaeuser in his edition of Appian, one of which he considers to be the best manuscript. But it is perfectly immaterial whether *τῆσδε* is inserted or not. The phrase in chapter seven is, *οἱ γὰρ πλούσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου γῆς*, &c.; and it is to this phrase, *τῆσδε τῆς*, &c., that the words of the law, as quoted by Appian, are manifestly intended to refer. All that occurs between the passages in which 'this undivided land' is spoken of, and the passage which contains the terms of the law, consists of general remarks, relating to the occupation of this land, the complaints about it, and the remedy. This is appropriately followed by the words of the law. One may suspect that the word *τῆσδε* in chapter eight is really an interpolation, and so concede this point to Huschke. But it cannot be admitted, that the omission of the word *τῆσδε* causes the slightest ambiguity in the meaning of the law.

It is clear, then, that Appian believed this law, which he

cites, to apply to the undistributed land of which he has spoken; and he calls such land a κτῆσις. He says also that the law was not enforced. Even if Appian had said nothing of the laws of the Gracchi, his notion about this earlier law would be perfectly clear. It is impossible that words can express a man's meaning more distinctly. But when he comes to speak of the agrarian law of T. Gracchus, he says that the law of Gracchus was a renewal of the law as to the five hundred jugera. In both cases, when he mentions the law (c. 8 and 9), he uses the word ἔχειν (habere), on the import of which sufficient has been said. Now as to the renewal of the old law, we may admit with Rudorff that the renewal went no further than the adoption of the maximum of the five hundred jugera. Appian must not be interpreted to mean more than he says: he simply observes, that T. Gracchus renewed the law which forbade a man to have more than five hundred jugera; and he then proceeds to shew what new matter the law of Gracchus contained. But it cannot be admitted that the maximum of five hundred jugera of Gracchus applied to public land, and that of Licinius did not. Appian believed that the law of Licinius applied to this 'undistributed, undivided land,' which he had before described as land that was not given, nor sold, nor let. The complaint in the time of T. Gracchus was, that the old law was not in force, that possessions were become larger than the law allowed; and the remedy was to renew the law, with some modifications in favour of the possessors. It (c. 10) annoyed the possessors that means were devised by Gracchus to prevent the new law being violated like the old law, by means of the establishment of a commission for the division of the land, that is, the 'undivided land;' and by the clause that the rich should not buy their allotments from the poor who received them. Here, again, it must be admitted with Rudorff, that this law of Gracchus was not a renewal of the Licinian law. Gracchus proposed to limit possession to five hundred jugera, and not to permit the allotments given to the poor or to colonists to be alienated. His object was undoubtedly to put a limit to the acquisition of property; but this impracticable attempt was afterwards abandoned, and the clause which forbade the alienation of such land was repealed. (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* I. 27.)

It might be conjectured that the law of Gracchus went so far as to include all lands that had once been public, and had

been given to the poor, and bought from them by the rich. But there is no evidence of this, and the fact of his introducing such a prospective provision into his law is rather against the supposition. Indeed, the necessity of such a provision in his law is evidence that the rule as to the five hundred jugera could only be held to apply to land that was still public, and had never been alienated by the state. If the law as to the five hundred jugera could be interpreted to mean that a man should not hold more than five hundred jugera of public land, whether land then public, or land that had once been public, such a provision as to the non-alienation of allotments would not have been necessary. It is probable that the attempt to prevent the alienation of the allotments was made, among other motives, with a view to maintain the interest of the state in the lands which it assigned. In the first place, the very object of the law of Gracchus, the procreation of children by the poorer sort, would have been defeated if those who received assignments of land had forthwith sold them. In the next place, it was not unlikely that many of these poor persons who received grants of land might die without children, and without any next of kin, or without any next of kin who could be ascertained; in which case, it is a fair legal inference that the state would resume the land, or, in technical language, that it would escheat to the state which originally gave it. If these lands were sold to the rich, the chance of such escheat would obviously be much less. Next of kin to rich people are generally not difficult to find.

The view which Appian gives of the public land and its occupation may be erroneous in some respects. All that we propose to shew is, that he believed that the agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus, and that earlier law, applied to the same kind of land, which he has already defined as 'undivided land'; and to this land alone, according to him, the provisions of the old law applied.

When we come to the particular clauses of the Licinian law de modo agri, we find the statement of Appian, that it applied only to the 'undivided land,' confirmed. Goettling judiciously remarks, that the limitation of the number of cattle could have no meaning, unless it applied to the number of cattle that a man might pasture on the open public lands. The same law, as it is quoted by Appian, declares, that of *the* land (and there

is, as we have shewn, no doubt what land he means) a man should not have more than five hundred jugera; and that he should not feed more than one hundred head of larger, and five hundred of smaller cattle. Now Appian has already stated (c. 7), that the 'undivided land' consisted of tilled land and planted land; and that there was a sum also paid by those who pastured cattle. It is hardly necessary to remark, that cattle did not pasture on the arable land or the planted land; they pastured on the saltus publici, or mountain tracts which were uncultivated. The second part of the old law then related to such tracts, and the number of animals that a man might pasture on them. Any other limitation of the number of animals that a man might feed, is inconsistent with the tenor of Appian's narrative.

Plutarch, speaking of the legislation of T. Sempronius Gracchus, has the following remarks (*Tib. Gracchus*, 8): "Of the land which the Romans took from their neighbours in war, part they sold, and part they made public (δημοσία), and gave to those citizens who had no property and to the poor to cultivate, on the payment of some small sum to the ærarium (τὸ δημόσιον). As the rich began to outbid the poor in the amount of payment to the ærarium, and so to eject them from the lands, a law was passed, which forbade any man to have (ἔχειν) more than five hundred plethra (jugera) of land. And for some short time this law stopped the aggrandizement, and relieved the poor, who stayed on the land on the terms of the letting, and cultivated the portions which they severally had originally. But afterwards, as their rich neighbours transferred the lettings to themselves, by means of false names, and at length without any concealment, held most of the land in their own names, the poor were ousted, and no longer shewed themselves zealous for military service, and neglected the breeding of children, so that all Italy soon felt a scarcity in the number of freemen, and was filled with ergastula of barbarians, by means of whom the rich cultivated the lands from which they had ejected the citizens."

It is not our purpose to point out the discrepancies between this passage and Appian, as to the mode in which the public land was let and enjoyed. The passage is only given to shew to what land Plutarch supposed that the agrarian laws of Gracchus and Licinius applied. He represents part of the conquered land

as made public, and given to the poor to cultivate, on payment of a certain rent. That the land was not given to them to be their own, is clear from the way in which he represents the poor as outbidden by the rich. He then alludes to a law which limited the amount of land which a man should have; and it is generally, perhaps universally, admitted, that the law to which he alludes is the Second Licinian Rogation. He represents the rich as getting possession of the land and ejecting the poor, by offering a higher rent: the land which they so possessed was public land, and it is therefore public land to which the limit of five hundred jugera applied. It is useless to attempt to shew that Plutarch, by the five hundred jugera, did not intend private land. He has said nothing about private land. He states that the public land was originally enjoyed by the poor on certain terms, that the rich contrived to oust the poor from this same land, and that a law was made which limited the amount of land that a person should have. Can any words make it clearer that the land so to be limited was the same land of which, and of which alone, he has been speaking? How was the law to have any distinct object, unless it applied to that land, the occupation of which it was proposed to limit.

In using his Latin authorities, Plutarch, as is known to those who are acquainted with his manner, translates Roman expressions. In referring to the Licinian Rogation, however, he has not translated the 'possideret' of the passage in which Livy mentions the provisions of this Licinian Rogation, but he has translated the word 'habere,' which, as already observed, occurs in one passage of Livy, and occurs also in passages where the law is spoken of by other writers. If Plutarch had translated 'possidere,' he would have used the verb κεκτῆσθαι, which, in fact, he has used in another passage (*Camillus*, 39) when he is expressly speaking of the second Rogation of Licinius: ἐκέλευσε δ' οὗτος μηδένα πλέθρων πεντακοσίων πλείονα χώραν κεκτῆσθαι. This passage is not cited as being of any value towards deciding the question we have under discussion, but merely to shew that no inference can be derived from the word ἔχειν, which Plutarch has applied to the same law in another passage. But it has been stated, that the word 'habere' does not imply ownership, and therefore the word ἔχειν does not in this passage of Plutarch. Again, the meaning of ἔχειν, in this passage of Plu-

tarch, is established by the context itself; therefore the 'habere,' which it represents, did not, according to Plutarch, imply ownership in those Latin passages where it occurs. Varro, for instance (*De Re Rustica*, I. 2), quotes the law thus: Stolonis illa lex quæ vetat plus D jugera habere civem R.;" but no conclusion can be drawn from this. Further, Plutarch represents the law as evaded, of which we have an early evidence in the case of Licinius, the promulgator of the Rogation; and he represents the rich as getting all the land of which he had spoken, the hired land (*τὰς μισθώσεις*), that is, the public land, into their possession, and completely ousting the poor. The law of Gracchus was designed to remedy this abuse, which Plutarch describes as a wrong and aggrandizement on the part of the rich (*ἀδικία καὶ πλεονεξία*, c. 9): he says, that the rich ought to have been punished for their violation of the law (*δικὴν τῆς ἀπειθείας δοῦναι*), and to have given up the lands of which they enjoyed the produce contrary to the laws, and to pay the penalty; instead of which, the first law of Gracchus merely required that they should receive the price and value, quit the property of which they had unjustly possessed themselves, and let in the citizens who wanted relief. Plutarch does not say what he means by price or value (*τιμή*), but we know what he meant, if we will interpret him by means of Appian. Here (c. 9) he has translated the 'injuste possidere' of Livy by the Greek *ἀδίκως ἐκέκτηντο*; and in the next sentence he speaks of these persons as possessores (*κτηματικοί*), and as violating the law.

It is not our purpose to criticise these passages from Plutarch. His account is loose and incorrect. It is sufficient to shew that he considered the laws of Tiberius Gracchus to apply to public land of which the rich had possessed themselves illegally, and contrary to the former law or laws, for he uses both expressions several times. It is also clear that he believed the law of Gracchus to be a re-enactment or restoration of an old law or of former laws, which limited the possession of public land; and the terms in which he alludes to this old law apply to the Licinian Rogation, and we know of no other prior law on the subject.

It remains to make a few remarks on the extract from Puchta. He states that the plebeians, after the Gallic war, had been compelled by their necessities to sell the chief part of

their land, which had got into the hands of the rich, who had suffered least by the recent events. When a man says 'the plebeians,' he speaks of them without any distinction of rich or poor; and so we might fairly conclude that all the plebeians are meant, although he afterwards states, that there were some rich persons among them. But as he says that the land had got into the hands of the 'rich,' we presume that by the expression 'plebeians' he means 'the poorer' plebeians. No evidence is given for this assertion about the plebeians selling their lands, and we must therefore take it as mere invention. Again, he says that one object of the law de modo agri was "in favour of those who were in a condition to recover their landed property by purchase." No evidence is cited for this: it is not in Livy, nor in Appian, nor in Plutarch, nor anywhere else, except in the writer's imagination. It appears, from Livy, that the object of the law was to get lands to be divided among the poor, by taking them from the possession of the rich: and Appian agrees with Livy. But Puchta's assertion is absurd in itself. The plebs, he has told us, 'had become very poor and were encumbered with debt:' they had also sold the chief part of their lands. Now the writer of course means, that the poor plebeians were in debt, that the poor plebeians had sold their lands; for we cannot suppose him to mean the richer plebeians of whom he afterwards speaks. The law, then, was 'in favour of those [poor plebeians] who were in a condition to recover their landed property by purchase.' How had they become in such a condition? Livy represents them, in his sixth book, as growing poorer and poorer, and he consistently represents the division of the possessed lands among them as one of the means of providing for them. He does not write so absurdly as to contradict himself, like some of his modern expositors. Further, on what terms were the poor to repurchase their land? how much were they to give for it? they who compounded with their creditors under one of the Rogations of Licinius? It is true, indeed, that, if they did not pay their debts, they would be so much the better off; but it is supposed by Livy, that they had neither money to pay their debts with nor for any other purchase. Once more, if the five hundred jugera of the Licinian law were private property, how does it follow that, if a man was to be allowed to keep five hundred jugera, which would include the land purchased from the plebeians, there would be any

thing for the plebeians to repurchase? This difficulty, perhaps may be made clearer thus. A plebeian had sold his landed property to a rich man or to a richer man. The law of Licinius allowed the richer man to keep all the land that he had, to the amount of five hundred jugera; and this might be all that he had, or he might have less. The law also allowed the former owner to repurchase, if he had the means: but this power of repurchase would be useless in the case here put. Such absurdities as those which Puchta has gravely put forth, in a useful work on Roman law, are hardly worth noticing, except as specimens of what historical criticism may become.

There is one more point to notice which is of some importance. Puchta says, "in favour of those who could not take advantage of the necessity imposed on the rich of selling a portion of their lands, the larger landowners, in a certain proportion, should employ poor people in the cultivation of their lands, instead of using only slaves as formerly." A plain man, on reading this passage, and taking the facts to be true as Puchta states them, would ask how was a larger landowner defined, and what is meant by 'a certain proportion;' and whether the authority which states all this, does not also state what a large landowner was, and in what proportion they must employ the poor? He might also ask, if the landowners were bound to employ the poor folks who first presented themselves—or how it was settled which poor folks they should employ—and whether it was so arranged that all the poor folks should be employed—and whether any were left after all unemployed—and whether their wages were fixed by the law or not?—and various other questions of a like kind might be asked without getting any answer. It is some satisfaction to know that all this statement of Puchta is purely invention; the credit of part of it, however, is not due to him. Niebuhr (III. 16, Engl. trans.), in stating the provisions of the Second Licinian Rogation, says, "The possessors of the public land were obliged to employ freemen as field labourers in a certain proportion to the extent of their possessions." The passage of Appian on which this is founded has been already given, it is as follows: "And for these purposes also they imposed on them a number of free men to have, who were to watch the produce and report." This is the literal version of the passage, which is one of considerable difficulty. But it contains nothing about

free men being employed as field labourers in a certain proportion to the extent of men's possessions. There is nothing about 'labour' in the passage. It speaks of 'watching' and 'reporting,' which is not working, but something much easier. It seems almost impossible to determine certainly what this passage means, but that is no reason for giving it a meaning which it certainly has not. The most probable meaning of *τὰ γιγνομένα* is the produce or proceeds of the land; and it may be that a certain number of persons were appointed to look over the observance of the law and the sums that would be due to the state in respect of the tenths and fifths. The passage does not of necessity mean that *each* estate was saddled with a parcel of government spies; it is, however, very obscure, and very loosely expressed, and it is perhaps reserved for some future critic to ascertain its precise meaning. The interpretation of Niebuhr has obviously been suggested by the complaint about the rich cultivating their possessions with slaves; and he has been misled by confounding what may or ought to have been a part of the law, with a proviso that means something different, but is the only one mentioned by Appian that could be wrested to the desired meaning. However, the remedy of giving lands to the poor, which Appian mentions as one object of the law, was quite as good as finding them work on other men's lands.

The reasons which Puchta gives against the Licinian law applying to public land, are no better than those which he has given to shew that it applied to private land; and the amount of evidence in the two cases is the same, that is, either none at all, or the evidence is directly against him. He says that it was a matter of public interest not to limit possession; which we believe to have been true under the circumstances. Having stated reasons to shew that it was a matter of public interest not to limit possession, he draws an inference that it was probable that it was not limited. This is his argument, put in a clearer form. Against his probable conclusion we place the positive evidence of the limitation having been made. But as one main object of the Licinian law was to provide the poor with land, it might be asked, where would the means be found so readily as in those large tracts that belonged to the state, the distribution of which is so often mentioned by Livy as a matter of dispute between the two orders in the state?

According to Puchta, the law merely allowed persons to repurchase who had once owned land, and gave the rest the sorry advantage of becoming daily labourers. This is entirely inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Roman legislation about public land, which was to give land to the citizens in allotments, not to find them with labour by quartering them on the private property of others. After saying that it was a matter of public interest not to limit possession, for which the only reason given is, that it would have made the collection of the vectigal troublesome, he says, it is true the poorer sort were thus excluded from the immediate acquisition of such a possession, because they could not produce the sums of money necessary for such occupation. We are thus told that the mass of the plebeians were excluded from having possessions, and that it was a matter of public interest that they should be excluded, because it would be troublesome to collect the vectigal of the lands when let in small parcels. In fine, the conclusion of this notable argument is this: it would have been troublesome to somebody to collect the vectigal from many small possessions: this trouble was avoided by letting the public land in large masses: it was a matter of public interest that the trouble which would have arisen to somebody from the collection of the vectigal from small possessions should be avoided; and therefore it is probable that the trouble to these persons was avoided, and that the land was not let in small possessions; that is, the poor got no benefit in the public land by the law; but amends were made for this by the rich plebeians having already great acquisitions of public land; and therefore it was the interest of the most distinguished plebeians also that no limit should be put to possession. In short, it was for the public interest that the rich plebeians and the patricians should not be disturbed in their possessions, and that somebody should not have the trouble of collecting the vectigal from small possessions, which would have to be done if possessions were held by the mass of the plebeians; and as it was a main object of the Licinian law to do something for the poor, this was specially provided for by doing nothing for them.

But it may be doubted if the plebeians as such were already capable of holding possessions; and there is no certainty that 'the richer among them had already made great acquisitions of this kind.' On the contrary, there is a certainty, so far as the evidence goes, that they had not; unless the richer

of them are included among the nobiles homines, and the trecenti of Livy, on which it might be premature to decide positively, as Puchta has probably some evidence to produce which will shew that they had, in opposition to the tenor of Livy's narrative.

Niebuhr affirms that Livy's statement, as to the patricians having no land except their possessiones, is untrue. Livy says they had little except their possessiones, not that they had none; and Livy's assertion, as a matter of evidence, is better than Niebuhr's, who had not the same means of knowing the fact. Livy's statement, also, is consistent with the whole tenor of his history, and we cannot find fault with him because he is consistent. Herein he shews more judgment than his critic, who would have us believe in a state of things which Livy's narrative appears to us to contradict.

These remarks are not intended as an essay on the Licinian Rogations. They are confined to that object which was announced at the beginning of this essay. The writer may have overlooked some arguments, and may have laid too much stress on others, but he at least attempted to investigate the matter fairly and by a just method. In examining a thing which is to be proved by evidence, it seems to be a just method to hear all that a witness has to say, and if he is an admissible witness, to take the evidence which he gives. If the evidence is consistent, if it is intelligible, if it is not contradictory, the just method is to receive it all, and to give to the whole its full weight. This must be done with each witness separately. The evidence of the several witnesses may then be compared, and if the whole is consistent, the fact or facts which such evidence establishes must be taken to be such as the evidence makes them to be, and the conclusion must be accepted as true, till it can be weakened or overthrown by other and better evidence. This is not the mode in which some German writers proceed. Facts are assumed, and evidence is overlooked, neglected, misinterpreted, or made to bend to them.

It is not because we in England undervalue the labour of German scholars, that we take this opportunity of pointing out one of their defects. It is because we set a high value on their labours, and justly value them, that we wish to see our teachers in philology al[illegible] example. No one is more ready than th[illegible] rks to acknowledge the

great obligations which he owes to those illustrious men in Germany, who have revived a knowledge of antiquity, and enabled us to reap from philological studies the rich reward that they offer to those who will cultivate them in a proper spirit, with a desire only to discover the truth. But it is somewhat discouraging, after what has been done for Roman history since Niebuhr commenced his investigations, if we cannot now decide whether the Licinian Rogation de modo agri applied to the public land or not. If such a point as this cannot be established, while there remain so many others still more doubtful, Roman history is hardly worth the labour that is bestowed upon it. Niebuhr's exposition of the Licinian laws is certainly open to several objections, and it is to be regretted that he did not more fully work out that point which is now disputed by several authorities. If Savigny were to apply his learning and unrivalled critical powers to the subject, we might hope to see it established beyond all dispute, and, so far as authority is concerned, none would command more weight than his. But such investigations cannot be expected from him now. There is, however, a German scholar, whose past labours in Roman history make us wish that the whole subject of the ager publicus and of the agrarian laws may yet receive the benefit of his investigation. It is to be hoped that Rubino will not leave this important subject untouched[4].

GEORGE LONG.

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[4] The essay of Huschke, which the writer has procured since this article was written, will form the subject of some future remarks in this Journal.

XVIII.

MISCELLANIES.

A Conjecture on Sophocles' Œd. Col., 1050 seq.

The attendants of Creon had carried off from Colonus the daughters of Œdipus. The followers of Theseus were in pursuit. The chorus of old men, seized with martial ardour, give voice to their longing to join in the combat and throw out a rapid conjecture as to where the pursuers may overtake the pursued. That the Pythian altar and the Eleusinian shores refer to the same line of road seems satisfactorily established, the only question remaining is to what the passage beginning ἢ ποῦ refers.

(1.) From Colonus to Thebes two roads lay open—1, by Eleusis, Œnoe, and Eleutheræ; 2, by the pass of Phyle. In distance they were nearly equal.

(2.) These roads seem to have met at Rheiti, and together crossed Ægaleos along the sacred way.

(3.) The thought of these well-known roads would be so familiar to all Athenian ears, that there was no need for the poet to do more than allude to them.

Now, on considering the passage, there seems to be clear allusion to these two lines of road, the words ἢ ποῦ marking the transition.

"They will join conflict at Pythium or Eleusis, or, *it may be* (ποῦ) the *western* part of the snowy rock they will approach from the pasture-ground of Œa."

What is the snowy rock here alluded to? The determination of this question will decide the case.

Antecedently we have seen that there are strong grounds for expecting some allusion to the road through the pass of Phyle. This was a rocky defile between Parnes and Cithæron, distant about ten miles from the Acropolis, and therefore nine from Colonus. Now, what so likely to be alluded to under the name νιφὰς πέτρα, as the range of Parnes, which bounded and defended the plain of Attica from Thebes, especially 'that lofty eminence' overhanging the pass on which, in after-times, the castle from which Thrasybulus sallied forth stood (Wordsworth's Greece, p. 84)? Wordsworth, in his Athens and Attica, remarks: "We were prevented from pursuing the *ordinary* and *shortest* route from Thebes, that by the *pass of Phyle;* that pas-

sage was *completely blocked up by snow.*" If this explanation be allowed, Phyle exactly answers to 'the WESTERN part of the snowy range,' and the *pasture land of Œa*, through which the party would pass before reaching the *νιφὰς πέτρα*, and which is laid down by Reisig as the district between Ægaleos and Acharnæ, would exactly fall in with this view.

One point, however, still remains (v. 900). Theseus bids his followers hasten

ἔνθα δίστομοι
μάλιστα συμβάλλουσιν ἐμπόρων ὁδοί,

to prevent the maidens from passing.

If these two roads to Bœotia meet, as they appear to do, at Rheiti, the explanation will be easy.

Against the explanation of Scholiast and critics may be alleged:—

(1.) The greater life which the above view seems to give to the passage as well as its plausibility.

(2.) The expression *ἤ που*, with the change of construction, seems to denote a change in the thoughts of the chorus, as if a new view had struck them, and the rest was not a developement of the old one.

(3.) The unlikelihood of Ægaleos being so long continuously and so conspicuously capped with snow, as at once to recal it to the minds of the audience by the appellation *νιφὰς πέτρα*.

In the case of Parnes, their thoughts would naturally turn that way, both from its being the well-known road to Thebes, and from its conspicuousness in the Attic horizon.

(4.) *Οἰάτιδος ἐκ νομοῦ* comes in on the scholiast's view very lamely indeed, while with the other theory it wholly agrees.

(5.) It was hardly likely that, with a road so famous as the 'sacred way' *crossing* Ægaleos, there would be a *second* road *skirting* it and meeting the former in the Thriasian plain—the supposition to which Wunder is driven on the old view of the case, in order to explain the *δίστομοι ὁδοί*. See the maps in Leake's *Topography of Athens*, and in Wordsworth's '*Attica*' and '*Greece.*'

T. F. K.

Specimens of a Translation of the Odes of Horace. By Professor Blackie.

Note.

[The present translations are executed upon the principle so well stated by Mr. Horne in our Third Number (p. 399, &c.), that a translation should be as much as possible a *fac-simile* of the original; a reproduction in another language, but in the same inward spirit and outward style. To achieve this the Germans, in translating from the antique, have generally represented the exact rhythmical form of the original, whether current in their own language or not; and, as a matter of course, have invariably also rejected the entirely modern embellishment of rhyme. In the former peculiarity of their practice, it does not seem advisable, for many reasons, that the English language should attempt to imitate them. The matter of rhyme, however, stands on a different footing, and there seems no sufficient reason why an attempt should not be made to shape our translated literature free from a modernism of this kind, which is not only altogether inappropriate in its character, but (as might readily be proved in detail) most pernicious in its practical operation. With regard to the rhythmical form, where the exact measure cannot be imitated, some approximation may always be made; and in the present attempts special care has been taken to choose a form of that compass which might represent the original stanza for stanza, without the necessity for that amplification which is so common a vice of our English translated literature.—J. S. B.]

II. 10.

Licinius wiselier shalt thou shape thy life,
Not urging aye the deep, nor, while thou dreadest
Black storms, still sounding with thy anxious lead
The treacherous shore.

Whoso hath loved the golden mean shall live,
And squalid hearth, from mouldy wall remote;
And on the envied halls o' the great shall look
With sober eye.

The stately pine more keenly feels the blast's
Rude buffet; with more terrible crash down-fall
High-toppling towers; and fiercer lightnings strike
The loftiest peaks.

A breast well-tempered, when dark seasons frown,
Will hope, in sunny times will fear a change:
The unsightly winter Jupiter at will
Brings, and at will

Removes. Not if 'tis ill to-day 'twill be
So ever; the sweet muse that slumbers now
A god shall wake; nor his strong bow alw[illegible]
Apollo bends.

To times adverse a valiant breast and stout
Oppose; with wisdom equal to the hour,
Fear the too prosperous breeze, and timely reef
Thy swelling sails.

III. 3.

Whoso is just and to his purpose true,
Not the hot clamour of the perverse mob,
Not the harsh tyrant's stern regard,
Shakes in his stable soul;

Not turbid Auster sleepless Adria swaying,
Nor the strong hand of thundering Jove; the globe
From its sure axis wrenched shall smite
His fearless head in vain.

Thus mailed in purpose Pollux rose; thus rose
Wide-wandering Hercules to the starry towers;
Thus Cæsar sits mid kindred gods,
And quaffs with purple lip

Sweet nectar. Thee, great father Bacchus, thus
Thy tigers bore upon their necks untamed;
Thus on his father's steeds sublime
Quirinus 'scaped to die,

While the stern Juno to the gods in council
Relenting spake—" Troy, god-devoted Troy,
The fatal and incestuous judge
And the strange woman laid

In dust. Since when Laomedon deceived
The gods of their just guerdon, to my wrath
And chaste Minerva's doomed, the fates
The treacherous race consigned.

Now nor the infamous guest in purple pranked
Leads on his Spartan whore, nor perjured now
Does Priam's house by Hector's aid
The impetuous Greeks restrain.

The war, whose weary strifes we studious fanned,
Now burns no more. To Mars I yield my wrath,
And whom a Trojan priestess bore,
The grandson hated once

Shall know my grace. He in the shining seats
Shall dwell, he of the nectar's juice shall drink;
His name the placid gods shall read
Writ in their solemn roll.

So long 'twixt Troy and Rome the sea
Wide rages, may the exiled race maintain
From West to East their prosperous sway;
So long o'er Priam's dust

The herds leap gamesome, and the wild beasts nurse
Their whelps secure; thus long the Capitol
May stand, and to the conquered Mede
Fierce Rome may dictate law.

Far-feared, to utmost shores may she extend
Her name, where Europe from the Afrik coast
The mid sea parts, where tumid Nile
Waters the pregnant loam.

The undiscovered gold austerely wise
Be she to spurn more strong than to coerce,
Not with rapacious grasp converting
Holy to human use.

Each bound of earth be her fair boast to reach
With fearless arm, and scan with conquering eye,
What part the hot suns scorch, and where
Dank clouds and dewy rains

Brood noisome. But let warlike Rome beware,
Lest pious over much, and too secure,
Against my will ancestral Troy
She build again in pride.

A mournful bird, with reborn Troy, reborn,
Shall bring old fortunes and old sorrows back:
Jove's consort, and Jove's sister, I
The conquering bands will lead.

Thrice if the brazen wall by Phœbus' art
Shall rise, thrice shall my brave Greeks mine the wall,
Thrice her dear husband and her sons
The captive wife shall wail."

But the discourses of the gods suit not
The sportive lyre; cease, humble muse, to tempt
High thoughts, and with thy slender strain
To dwarf the mighty theme.

III. 18.

FAUNUS of the fleeing wood-nymphs
  Wanton wooer,
To my fields and sunny pastures
  Gracious coming,
When thou goest, with a blessing
  Leave my little yeanlings.

Year by year a tender kidling
  I will offer;
Bounteous Bacchus, Venus' fellow,
  Shall not fail thee;
Freely heaped the ancient altar,
  Fragrant smoke shall bring thee.

Flocks and herds in grassy meadow
  Sporting gaily,
Greet the Nones of blithe December;
  Through the village
Man and ox are careless keeping
  Holiday to Faunus.

With the wolf the lamb is straying
  Free and fearless;
Thick the rustic wood to grace thee
  Strews its leafage:
Thrice the thankless clod the delver
  Merrily is beating.

LEBANON AND ANTI-LEBANON.

THROUGHOUT the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the word Lebanon is used to denote the whole chain or range of mountains which, by the Greek writers, was discriminated by the distinct appellations of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The Hebrew name Lebanon is always translated, in the Septuagint version, by Ἀντιλίβανος, as far as Josh. XI. 17. In this verse, and in every subsequent passage where the word Lebanon occurs in the Hebrew, it is translated by Λίβανος in the Sept. The only passage, I think, where the word Ἀντιλίβανος is used in the Sept. from Joshua, XI. 17, down, is in the Apocryphal Book, Judith, I. 7, where Libanos and Anti-Libanos are both used, as they are by the Greek writers, to distinguish the western from the eastern chain.

Where the Sept. use Ἀντιλίβανος, as previous to Josh. xi. 17, it refers to the northern boundary of the land; for Anti-Libanos with its ranges is properly the boundary of the Holy Land. There is one passage in which the Sept. seem to use Ἀντιλίβανος to denote the chain peculiarly called Λίβανος. It is in Josh. ix. 1. καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ; the Hebrew text is, אל מול הלבנון ובכל חוף הים הגדול; but of this the Sept. make two clauses, understanding or having read, before אל מול, and thus, the Hebrew words of the last clause, as they read it, would be exactly expressed by the Greek words καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ. In our English version, the whole is taken more correctly as one clause, "and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon," which, however, I would prefer translating, "and in every *haven* of the great sea," &c.

A distinction between Lebanon and Sirion (which is the same as Antilebanon) is observed in Psalm xxix. 6: "Lebanon and Sirion." In Ezekiel, xxvii. 5, there is a distinction made between Lebanon and Shenir[1]: "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Shenir; they have taken cedar from Lebanon to make masts for thee." In the Song of Solomon, the words, "as the tower of Lebanon which looketh towards Damascus," are, in the Sept. ὡς πύργος τοῦ Λιβάνου σκοπεύων πρόσωπον Δαμασκοῦ, where the Sept., if the distinction in the names of the two ranges had been attended to, should have been Ἀντιλιβάνου.

The earliest Greek writer in whom we find the word Ἀντιλίβανος is Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. lib. 9, c. 7; and next, Polybius, lib. 5, c. 45 and 59. The word was probably first used by some Greek writer shortly after the conquests of Alexander. It is not unlikely that it was first used by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who wrote a history of the life and conquests of Alexander, and was well qualified for the task, not only by his literary accomplishments—for in this sense the expressions of Quintus Curtius may be understood, when he says of him—"pacis artibus quam militiæ major et clarior," lib. 9, c. 8, a high encomium for one of Alexander's favourite generals—but also from his having accompanied that monarch on his expeditions. This history was in high estimation, and was the chief source from whence Arrian composed his narrative of Alexander's eastern expedition. He was the founder of the Alexandrian Library; and it was under the reign of his son Ptolemy Philadelphus that the Sept. version was undertaken, at least of the Pentateuch; and the distinction between the two chains, Lebanon and Antilebanon, may, at this time, just when they had been appropriately discriminated by some recent

(1) In Deut. iii. 9, Anti-Lebanon is called "Hermon, which the Sidonians [illegible] Sirion, and the Amorites Shenir."

Greek writer, have been more exactly attended to than afterwards; and, accordingly, in the Sept. version of the Pentateuch, the word Antilibanos is correctly used, but in the subsequent books of that version the distinction is not observed.

WILLIAM EWING.

XIX.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THEOCRITUS, Codicum MSS. ope recensuit et emendavit Christophorus Wordsworth, S.T.P. &c. (Cambridge, 1844. 8vo.)

UPON dipping into Dr. Wordsworth's Dedication and Preface, we scarcely knew whether we were going to sit down to pastoral poetry or a pastoral charge, so strongly is the affinity insisted on between divinity and philology. Except in the circumstance of locality, the connection between the school said to have been founded by St. Mark at Alexandria and Theocritus is not very obvious; nor is it easy to see why this edition of his works should be deemed a peculiarly fit offering to be consecrated to the church (Dedic. p. VI.). Surely Dr. Wordsworth's classical labours do not require all this apology. The latter part of the preface, in which the peculiar structure of the bucolic verse, as pointed out by Valckenaer in his letter to Roever, is illustrated and explained, will be acceptable to those who take an interest in the nice minutiæ of versification.

Dr. Wordsworth has adopted the text of Meineke, and though he has consulted many MSS. he has introduced no new readings of his own. Conjectural emendation is, nevertheless, a principal feature in his edition; but his attempts in this way he has modestly confined to his notes. The text of Theocritus is confessedly corrupt, nor has it yet been much improved by the labours of our critics, who seem to have chiefly directed their efforts towards the dramatic writers. This renders Dr. Wordsworth's labours the more welcome. We cannot help thinking, however, that it would have made his book more valuable had he inserted the various readings at the bottom of the page, instead of merely mentioning them occasionally in the notes. At the same time it must be acknowledged that Dr. Wordsworth has not taken any very extravagant liberties with his author, and that his emendations are generally guided by palæography. Indeed, the strictness with which

he has usually acted upon this principle seems hardly reconcileable with the declaration in his preface (p. xv.), that where MSS. are so corrupt as those of Theocritus, good sense is the best codex, and that we are not to inquire whether emendations be conjectural, but whether they be probable and necessary. We have subjoined some remarks on a few emendations which struck our eye in going cursorily through the volume.

Idyll. I. v. 32. Dr. Wordsworth reads with Valckenaer, *τὶ θεῶν δαίδαλμα.* We do not know whether the reading of the greater part of the Codices,

ἔντοσθεν δὲ γυνά τις, θεῶν δαίδαλμα, τέτυκται,

be not preferable. Cf. v. 47. *ὀλίγος τις κῶρος.* *Θεῶν* is then a monosyllable. We must confess that Dr. W.'s conjecture, "Mallet quis *τί θεῶ, δαίδαλμα, contemplare quale opus!*" does not please us. There is nothing to shew that the goat-herd had the cup in his hand. On the contrary, he tells Thyrsis, v. 59, *ἀλλ' ἐτὶ κεῖται—Ἄχραντον;* and produces it for the first time after the song (v. 149), *ἠνίδε τοι τὸ δέπας;* which verse, therefore, Dr. W. cannot quote in support of his conjecture.

V. 51. Dr. W. proposes to read *πράτιστον* for *ἀκράτιστον.* But though we sometimes find *πρίν* used with *πρότερον*, the double *πρίν* with the superlative makes, we think, a great deal worse tautology than *ἀνάριστον* with *ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι.* Nor do we see much force in Dr. W.'s objection to breakfast, because the poet has not indicated the time of day. We shall continue, therefore, to read with Warton, as approved of by Valckenaer,

φατὶ πρὶν ἢ 'νάριστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξῃ.

V. 96. Dr. W.'s reading of *ἀθρῆν* for *λάθρη* or *λάθρια* is ingenious, and a decided improvement. In adopting it, however, we prefer changing *ἀνά* into *ἅμα*, to interpreting *ἀνέχων intus fovens*, with Hermann, *ad Œd. Col.* 680, where the word is most probably corrupt.

Idyll. v. v. 25. We consider Dr. W.'s emendation, *ὦ κίναδος σὺ, τάδ' ἔσσεται*, for *ὦ κίναδ' εὖ τάδε γ' ἔσσεται*, a very neat one, but prefer *τύ* to *σύ*, as being always used by Theocritus. We need hardly here make ourselves the slaves of the *ductus literarum.*

V. 32. We think Dr. W.'s *ἄνθεα* an improvement, but we object to the *κἀπ'*, which deprives the noun with the demonstrative of the article, and therefore read *καὶ τἄνθεα.* They might sit *under* the flowering shrubs.

Idyll. x. v. 35. Dr. W. proposes to read [illegible] *καὶ εἷμα* for ΣΧΗΜΑ, but surely it could n[illegible] that he should be represented naked wi[illegible], too, may mean a dress as well as *εἷμα* [illegible]

τοῦ σχήματος! There is, however, a graver objection to Dr. W.'s reading, as being *contrà linguam.* Though *καὶ* may precede *δέ* in the same clause where *μέν* does not go before, we have very strong doubts indeed whether it can where the last-mentioned particle is used. The passages adduced by Dr. W. are nothing to the purpose, nor those in Scholefield's *Eumenides*, vv. 65 and 384. In short, in such a formula as *σὺ μέν, καὶ ἐγὼ δέ*, the *conjunctive καί* would destroy the opposition pointed out by the *disjunctive δέ*, and make as elegant a phrase as "you *indeed, and but* I" in English. We must, therefore, continue to read *σχῆμα* till some better emendation occurs; though, after all, perhaps none is wanted. Battus' sweetheart was to be represented playing on the pipe and he himself in a dancing attitude.

Idyll. XIV. 38.

τήνῳ τὰ σὰ δάκρυα μᾶλα ῥέοντι.

Dr. W. very naturally objects to Kiessling's absurd version, and proposes to read *δάκρυσι* for *δάκρυα* h. e. "Illi tuæ genæ lachrymis madent." A slighter alteration would be to read *καλὰ* for *μᾶλα*, where the adjective would be an emphatic predicate—"Your tears are very pretty to him."

Idyll. XV. 50. Dr. W.'s conjecture *Ἐπειοί* for *ἐρειοί*, though ingenious, seems far-fetched, and might too be confounded with the name of the inhabitants of Elis. V. Iliad, XI. 687. As the scene is in Egypt, Valckenaer's conjecture (in *Epist. ad Roever.*) *ἕλειοι*, *dwellers in the marshes*, the common receptacle for Egyptian rogues, appears the best yet made, though he afterwards discarded it in his notes on the *Adoniazusæ.*

Idyll. XXI. v. 15, seqq. Dr. W. reads,

οὐδ' εἶχον χύτραν οὐ κλίναν· πάντα περισσὰ
πάντ' ἐδόκει τήνοις ἄγρας πέρι, ἃ σφ' ἄγ' ἑταίρους.

But though the original is undoubtedly corrupt, we think that there are several grounds of objection to Dr. W.'s emendations. The fishermen have already been described as sleeping upon dried sea-weed, and it is therefore superfluous to tell us now that they had no bed. They must have been arrant beggars, too, if they had not even an earthern pot, were it only to boil a bit of fish; and a *κλίνη* would be so much more valuable than a *χύτρα* that, in enumerating their wants, the poet would hardly have coupled them together. Further, *κλίναν* spoils the verse. The following reading has occurred to us, which, however, we do not propose very confidently:

οὐδ' εἶν τᾶ χύτρᾳ γ' εἶχον κρέα· πάντα περισσὰ
ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τήνοις· ἄγρας πενία σφιν ἑταίρα.

"They had no meat in their pot; all such things seemed superfluous

to them, for poverty was the companion of their chase." Cf. infra V. 40. *οὐκ ἦν μὰν πολύσιτος κ.τ.λ.*

In the following verse Dr. W. very properly finds fault with *παντᾶ*, for which he proposes to read *πνοιᾷ*, thus making the hut beaten by the winds instead of the waves. This we hardly think was the poet's intention, since it would be as appropriate to an inland dwelling as to a fisherman's. We are surprised that Dr. W. has not even recorded Reiske's happy conjecture, approved of by Valckenaer, and which we take to be the true reading:

οὐδεὶς δ' ἐν μέσσῳ γείτων πέλεν· ἁ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰν—

This not only improves the metre, but is a much nearer approach to the reading of some of the codices, ΠΕΝΙΑ, which has evidently crept in from the preceding line, and which, in some measure, confirms its correctness there, but which, according to Dr. W.'s method, is banished from both. The three words, *αὐτὰν ϑλ. καλύβαν*, being in the same regimen, the separation of the article from its noun is hardly more violent than in several other instances.

At verse 65 of the same Idyl. for *εἰ δ' ὕπαρ, οὐ κνώσσων*, Dr. W. would read *εἰ γὰρ μὴ κνώσσων*. But the meaning does not admit of *γὰρ*, which thus used would serve to give a reason for something before asserted. We take *ὕπαρ* to be thoroughly sound, and a very slight change indeed will restore the line to sense and grammar:

εἰ δ' ὕπαρ ἀγρώσσων τὺ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ματεύσεις.

"If you fish these same places when wide awake, there is some hope of your dreams, &c." For *ἀγρώσσων*, Cf. Odys. v. 53.

ὅστε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο
ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἅλμῃ.

The accusative of *ὄναρ* and *ὕπαρ*, used adverbially, hardly requires illustration; but see Æsch. *Eumen.* v. 116. 131, and more especially Plato. *Theætet.* XIII. p. 158, B.: *τί ἄν τις ἔχοι τεκμήριον ἀποδεῖξαι εἴ τις ἔροιτο νῦν οὕτως ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πότερον καθεύδομεν, καὶ πάντα ἃ διανοούμεθα, ὀνειρώττομεν· ἢ ἐγρηγόραμέν τε καὶ ὕπαρ ἀλλήλοις διαλεγόμεθα.*

C. O. Müller's Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology. Translated from the German by John Leitch. (London, Longman, 1844, 8vo.)

A translation of Müller's Introduction to the Study of Mythology is one of the most valuable additions that could have been made to the literature of our country. Whoever has looked

modern works on mythology, must have been struck by the endless variety of opinions respecting the origin and nature of Grecian polytheism, and by the mystical and rationalistic speculations into which scholars of eminence have fallen in their attempts to make us understand the nature of the several divinities. This diversity of opinion and these wild wanderings of speculation were the natural consequences of a misapprehension of the nature and origin of a mythus; and it is a well-known fact, that Müller was one of the first who adopted a sensible method in investigating the origin and gradual developement of mythi. His present work, which appeared in Germany nearly twenty years ago, has for this reason been adopted almost universally as the basis of all mythological studies; and Mr. Leitch deserves the gratitude of his countrymen for introducing the work to those to whom it was inaccessible in the original language. The translation is correct and very faithful, perhaps too much so, and we could almost wish that Mr. Leitch had treated the work with somewhat more freedom, and had divested it somewhat more of its foreign character; for Müller himself took very little pains with the form and style of his works, which, when translated into another language, often require to be entirely remodelled. He wrote down his thoughts, as they occurred to him, with that want of due attention to precision and clearness of style which, unfortunately, is but too common among German writers. In the first thirteen chapters, Müller explains his views concerning the origin, developement, and nature of mythi; and the fourteenth contains a few examples, to shew the manner in which his principles should be applied in particular cases. The fifteenth, or last chapter, gives a comparison of the mythological theories of the most eminent among Müller's predecessors and contemporaries, and we there find brief outlines of the manner in which mythology has been viewed by Heyne, Voss, Creuzer, Hermann, and Welcker. Then follows an appendix on the relation which Homer, Hesiod, and the Orphici bear to earlier traditions, and we are indebted to Mr. Leitch for the judicious addition of two other mythological dissertations of Müller, viz., "On the mythi connected with the constellation of Orion," and "On the grotto of Hermes, at Pylus," both of which were published by Müller, about ten years ago, in German periodicals. The usefulness of Mr. Leitch's translation would have been increased, if he had added an index, or at least a full table of contents.

GRAMMAR OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE, FOR THE USE OF HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. By Dr. Raphael Kühner, Conrector of the Lyceum, Hanover. Translated from the German by B. B. Edwards, Professor in the Theological Seminary, and S. H. Taylor, Principal of Phillip's Academy, Andover. (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1844, 8vo.)

DR. KÜHNER is the author of three Greek grammars, all of which, we are glad to see, are now translated into English. 1. *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, "Copious Grammar of the Greek Language," in 2 vols., 1834, 1835, translated by Mr. Jelf, of Oxford, with some alterations and additions. 2. *Schulgrammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, "School Grammar of the Greek Language;" 1836; second edition, 1843, translated in America under the title given at the head of this article. 3. *Elementargrammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, "Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language," of which three editions have been already published, and which has been translated into English by Mr. Millard. The very copious exercises in this grammar, consisting of Greek sentences to be translated into English, and of English sentences to be translated into Greek, had been previously published by the late Dr. Allen, under the title of "A New Greek Delectus," which is undoubtedly the best work of its kind. These exercises are very properly omitted in Mr. Millard's translation, as they had been already published in a separate form; but we are rather surprised that Mr. Millard has given no intimation in his preface of this fact.

Of the three grammars above mentioned, the one translated by Messrs. Edwards and Taylor is the best adapted for the use of students in colleges and the higher classes of schools, the Elementary Grammar, as the name imports, being intended for beginners, and the larger work, translated by Mr. Jelf, being more suitable to advanced scholars. They are all, however, great improvements upon the Greek grammars in common use among us, and we hope they will soon be extensively employed in our course of classical instruction. Dr. Kühner has not only an accurate knowledge of the Greek language itself, but he has also paid attention to the languages connected with the Greek, and has thus called in the aid of comparative grammar to illustrate the structure and formation of the Greek language. It is not too much to say that a knowledge of Sanscrit is essential to any one who would write a Latin or Greek grammar in the present day, not only on account of the light which the Sanscrit throws upon numerous difficulties in the structure of the Greek and Latin, but also on account of the admirable grammatical system of the Hindu writers. This is neither the time

nor the place to enter at large into this subject; but one instance will illustrate what we mean. There are few parts of the Greek grammar in which there is more confusion than in the account of what is usually called the Third Declension. To a learner the whole matter is a perfect chaos; and in fact he is obliged to recollect separately the genitive case of almost every noun. Thus, when κόραξ is given to a learner to decline, the utmost he can tell is, that the genitive is κόρακ-ος, κόραγ-ος, or κόραχ-ος, and he is fortunate if he obtains sufficient information to know even this. In the same way with λαμπάς, the learner has no means of ascertaining whether the genitive is λαμπάδ-ος, λαμπάτ-ος, λαμπάθ-ος, or perhaps even λαμπά-ος. Now, instead of taking the nominative case as the form, from which all the other cases are to be derived, the Hindu grammarians give the stem or crude-form of the noun, from which the nominative case itself, as well as all the other cases, are formed. In this manner every thing becomes plain and simple. The pupil must of course have learnt previously the euphonic changes which consonants undergo when brought into contact with other consonants; and an explanation of such euphonic changes should be given before the declensions, as Dr. Kühner has done. The pupil need then only be told that the nominative case is usually formed by adding ς, the genitive by adding ος, &c., and he is sure to decline his nouns aright. Accordingly, Dr. Kühner, in imitation of the Hindu grammarians, gives the following table of some nouns of the third declension:—

Stem.	*Nominative.*	*Genitive.*
φλεβ	φλέβ-ς = φλέψ	φλεβ-ός
κορακ	κόρακ-ς = κόραξ	κόρακ-ος
λαμπαδ	λαμπάδ-ς = λαμπάς	λαμπάδ-ος
γιγαντ	γίγαντ-ς = γίγᾱς	γίγαντ-ος
δελφιν	δελφίν-ς = δελφῖς	δελφῖν-ος
βοF (bov.)	βόF-ς (bov-ς) = βοῦς	βο(F)-ός

This plan of separating the stem-part of the word from the letters which mark inflexion, and of forming all the cases of nouns, and the moods, tenses, and persons of verbs, direct from the stem, and not from the nominative case of a noun, or the first person singular of the present tense of a verb, is one of the many merits of Dr. Kühner's grammar, though he has not always adopted it so fully as we could have wished.

The syntax of Dr. Kühner's grammar is also an improvement upon that of his predecessors. The syntax of Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, which is the one most in use in this country, and which is certainly much better than the etymological portion of the work, is useful as a collection of examples, but as nothing more. The corresponding part of Dr. Kühner's work, however, possesses merits of a higher order.

He has applied to the Greek language the principles which Becker has developed in his German Grammars, and has endeavoured to explain by an accurate philosophical analysis the connection between the constituent parts of a sentence, instead of giving a set of unconnected rules respecting the use of cases and moods, which it is almost impossible for any student to remember.

ANTIQUITATES VERGILIANÆ AD VITAM POPULI ROMANI DESCRIPTÆ. A Laurentio Lersch. Bonn, 1843. 8vo.

THE design of this work is to illustrate, by means of passages in Virgil, the antiquities of Rome in civil and military affairs, in religion, and in private life. It is well known that Virgil was master of profound antiquarian knowledge; but this, as Macrobius tells us, often lies concealed in a single word, which the careless or uninstructed reader might pass over unnoticed. (Est profundam scientiam hujus poetæ in uno sæpe reperire verbo, quod fortuito dictum vulgus putaret. Saturn. lib. iii. c. 2.) A work, then, like that of Dr. Lersch, in which he presents us with the fruits of nine years' labour, devoted to the illustration of such obscure points, cannot but prove a welcome offering to the student of Virgil.

In the execution of his plan, Dr. Lersch has had recourse to those Latin authors who throw light upon Roman antiquities, as Livy, Pliny, and especially Varro, and he has frequent occasion to point out differences between Homer and Virgil, in their descriptions of rites and customs.

When Virgil wrote, more than seven centuries had elapsed since the foundation of Rome, and about four more must be added to bring us to the time of the action of his poem. A long rule, unbroken by foreign invasion, together with a strong spirit of nationality, had imparted to the Romans both the desire and the means of preserving their ancient traditions; and during the Augustan age, as well as for some time previously, the antiquities of Rome were a favourite study.

Touching on so many desultory particulars, Dr. Lersch's work necessarily wants unity of plan, and may be properly regarded as a series of notes on different passages in Virgil. The author himself seems to have been sensible of this, as he has added an index, in which the quotations from each book are referred to in their consecutive order. This is a good idea, as it will enable the student, who might feel disinclined to read the book through, to refer to it as a book of notes.

In his fifty-sixth section, Dr. Lersch treats of Virgil's religious opi-

nions; a point on which very opposite notions have been entertained. The most general one is, that he was an Epicurean; Donatus, in his Life, s. xix, says that he was an Academic; and Dr. Lersch is, we believe, singular, in enrolling him amongst the Stoics. This position he endeavours to establish from different passages in the poems. It may, however, be doubted whether this sort of proof can be considered satisfactory; since it is certain that as many sentiments may be pointed out which favour the doctrines of Epicurus or Pythagoras, as of Zeno. Nay, we may sometimes find contradictory opinions on the same subject, as Servius has observed (ad Æn. x. 467), where the following remarks of that commentator are by no means unreasonable: "Sectis philosophorum poetæ pro qualitate negotiorum semper utuntur; nec se unquam ad unam alligant, nisi quorum hoc propositum est, ut fecit Lucretius, qui Epicureos tantum secutus est. Scimus autem inter se sectas esse contrarias. Unde fit ut in uno poeta aliqua contraria inveniamus non ex ipsius vitio sed ex vanitate sectarum. Illud namque quod in 4to. (697), *Sed miseram ante diem*, Epicureorum est, qui casibus cuncta concedunt. Nunc quod dicit: *Stat sua cuique dies*—Stoicorum est, qui dicunt fatorum statuta servari." The only passages which can be regarded as completely decisive are those in which the poet speaks of himself in his own person; and, therefore, if we were sure that the Ciris was Virgil's, we should have no difficulty in proclaiming him an Epicurean. After this kind of direct testimony, perhaps the sixth book of the Æneid, where the poet solemnly reveals the secrets of another world, may afford the best test of his religious sentiments. It is chiefly from parts of this book that Dr. Lersch has endeavoured to establish his position, but, we think, unsuccessfully. Thus he adduces the following well-known lines, amongst the sublimest ever written by a heathen, comparing them with Georg. iv. 219:—

> Principio cœlum ac terras camposque liquentes
> Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
> Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet. (vi. 724.)

and shews, from Diogenes Laertius (VII. 134), that the Stoics held analogous opinions. But the Pythagoreans had their doctrine of the *anima mundi* long before the philosophy of the porch was in existence. Thus Timæus, the Locrian, a Pythagorean, is introduced by Plato, speaking as follows: *οὕτως οὖν δὴ κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννουν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γένεσθαι πρόνοιαν.*

Dr. Lersch then proceeds to the lines immediately following:

Inde hominum pecudumque genus vitæque volantum
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.
Igneus est ollis vigor et cœlestis origo
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.

Here he also finds the stoical doctrine of the origin of all things from fire. But this was also part of the Pythagorean tenets, which held that—ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας, εἶναι θεούς· ἐπικρατεῖ γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἴτιον * * * διήκειν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα διὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος τοῦ τε ψυχροῦ καὶ παχέος—ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ εἰς τὰ βάθη δύεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζωοποιεῖν πάντα. Diog. Laert. Lib. VIII. § 27.

Dr. Lersch also imagines that he sees the Stoic lurking under the fourfold division of the passions, in the line immediately following the above:

Hinc metuunt cupiuntque dolent gaudentque.

But here, too, the Stoics had been anticipated by the Pythagoreans, as may be seen in the little treatise, De Anima Mundi, ascribed to Timæus: ἀρχαὶ δὲ κακίας ἀδονάι καὶ λύπαι ἐπιθυμίαι τε καὶ φόβοι, ἐξαμμέναι μὲν ἐκ σώματος, ἀνακεκραμέναι δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ. P. 120 (Tauchnitz.)

Dr. Lersch omits all mention of the Pythagorean metempsychosis, which, however, is given by Virgil:

Animæ quibus altera fato
Corpora debentur. (v. 713.)

But he admits that vss. 735—751 savour more of Pythagorean than Stoic tenets.

He chiefly relies, however, for the proof of his hypothesis on the doctrine of fate so frequently inculcated by Virgil. But we have already remarked that he is not consistent in this doctrine, and that as many instances might be produced to prove him an Epicurean. And with the Stoics fate was no other than Jove, ἕν τε εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Δία, πολλαῖς τε ἑτέραις ὀνομασίαις προσονομάζεσθαι—(Diog. Laert. lib. vii. 68. 134); nor did the Pythagoreans exclude it from the government of the world, Εἱμαρμένην τε τῶν ὅλων εἶναι, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος, αἰτίαν τῆς διοικήσεως. (Ibid. lib. VIII. 27.)

Dr. Lersch takes no notice of the argument which has been sometimes drawn, from the way in which Virgil closes his sixth book, to prove him an Epicurean; namely, that he causes his hero to make his exit from Hades through the *porta eburnea*, or gate of false dreams; thus hinting, it is inferred, that all those visions of another life had no foundation in truth. It must be confessed that the mixture of reality and vision which pervades this splendid episode, is a blemish to it,

which has been avoided by Homer. From some passages of it, we might think that Virgil intended to describe a real descent into Hades; whilst others lead us to conclude that he meant it for a dream. The idea of sleep is kept up throughout. Æneas begins by sacrificing to Night (v. 250 seqq.); the entrance of the descent is filled with dreams (v. 283), which are likewise found in the interior (umbrarum hic locus est, somni, noctisque soporæ, v. 390); and the hero finally emerges through the gates of sleep. So far, however, no objection can be taken, except to the inconsistent mixture of vision and reality. In the opinion of that age, dreams were of great importance, provided they were true. Augustus was a believer in them, and, in compliance with one, degraded himself annually to the condition of a common beggar. (V. Sueton. in Vita, cap. 91.) Nay, we may perhaps discover in this circumstance of the poem, another trait of flattery by which Virgil intended to carry out his parallel between Augustus and Æneas. But the exit by the ivory gate still awaits a satisfactory explanation. That Virgil meant to insinuate thereby the falsehood of those visions can hardly be believed. Besides the poetical solecism of such a proceeding, which has been pointed out by many commentators, the graver objection may be urged, that it would, as it were, be giving the lie to the beautiful compliment which had just been paid to the family of Augustus, and for which, we are told, the poet reaped a substantial reward. The scenes, too, from Roman history were true; it is, as a lawyer might say, an *ex post facto* vision. This objection will also apply to the theory proposed by Jortin in his sixth Dissertation—that Virgil threw an air of falsehood over this episode, because the evocation of departed souls was thought to be effected by magic, a thing held in abomination by the Romans. Gibbon, in the postscript to his *Critical Observations on the Sixth Æneid*, written to confute Bishop Warburton's theory that the whole book was a poetical description of the Eleusinian mysteries, has proposed a solution which seems to have met with the approbation of Heyne. According to this, the "true shades, *veræ umbræ*, were those airy forms which were continually sent to animate new bodies;" and, "in this new sense, Æneas and the Sibyl, who were still encumbered with a load of flesh, could not pretend to the prerogative of true shades." But Virgil could hardly have used the word *veræ* in this double sense, which would be no better than a solemn pun, and amount, in effect, to confounding the *umbra* or εἴδωλον with the *anima* or ψυχή. The epithet *veræ* is applied to the *umbræ*, not with any regard to their substance, but to the effects which their apparition produced on the mind of the sleeper. They were truth-telling shades, yet still but shades equally with those deceptive ones which assumed their form.

Perhaps, however, a deeper meaning has been sought in the passage than Virgil ever intended to give it; and unless it can be shewn that Æneas and the Sibyl were really shades, it does not seem to be a necessary consequence that the whole vision was meant to be represented as false, merely from the circumstance of their coming out of the ivory gate. The laws which governed the *umbræ* were not applicable to creatures of flesh and blood; nor did Virgil's hero emerge from the infernal regions for the purpose of visiting the couch of a dreamer.

XX.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

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THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XXI.

UEBER DIE STELLE DES VARRO VON DEN LICINIERN (De Re Rust. I. 2, § 9), &c. VON PH. EDUARD HUSCHKE, Dr. of Philos. and of Law, and Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Breslau. Heidelberg, 1835.

This essay is on the passage in Varro which contains the words, "Stolonis illa lex, quæ vetat plus D. iugera habere civem R.," &c.; and ends with the following sentence: "Eiusdem gentis C. Licinius, tribunus pleb. cum esset, post reges exactos annis CCCLXV., primus populum ad leges accipiendas in septem iugera forensia e comitio eduxit."

The author of this essay observes (p. 2, &c.), "One Stolo, it is here remarked, was the author of that famous law which forbids the Roman citizen to have more than five hundred iugera. This law is mentioned in many passages of the ancient writers; it is one of the four laws by which the great legislator of the plebs, C. Licinius Stolo, greatly relieved his fellow plebeians, and has of late been the subject of much discussion. Some writers, such as Hüllmann and Chr. L. F. Schultz, understand it as establishing a limit to all property in land; so that, according to this view, no man could have as private property, nor as a 'possessio agri publici,' more than the amount fixed by law. Others, on the contrary, as Niebuhr, Beier, and Walter, limit it to the possessio agri publici; that is, they assume it did not affect the amount of private property, but only forbade a person to have a possession in the public land of more than five hundred iugera. Though this controversy does not properly belong to the question before us, yet we cannot entirely pass it over, because the determination of it, as will hereafter

appear, can exercise an indirect influence on the peculiarly difficult part of this passage, and in fact has.

We are now fully convinced that the former is the true opinion, and Niebuhr in this instance, as in many other cases, influenced by his somewhat partial but very excusable disposition to find all possible confirmations of the great discoveries which he made, has allowed himself to be led into an error, in which so many now participate. To these discoveries belonged the great distinction in ancient Rome between ownership of land (ager), which for the plebeians was originally the only form of possession in land that proceeded from the state, and the possession of public land (possessio agri publici), to which originally patricians only were entitled, though, besides this, they naturally, from the very first time when assignations of land were made, could have private property in land. Farther, Niebuhr shewed, that while the patricians wished to enjoy the conquered lands belonging to the state as Possessio, and the plebeians wished to have it divided among them and assigned by the establishment of colonies, this gave rise to the agrarian laws and agrarian agitations. Now, this opposition of the rights of both parties would become still more prominent, if he assumed that the Lex Licinia also had reference to it; that is to say, that Licinius in his law had no other object than to put a stop to the excessive occupation of the public land by the patricians, and to open to the plebs a prospect of considerable assignations of land. Though the foundation on which Niebuhr's opinion rests is true, yet, upon close examination, this application of it appears untenable, and we must rather assume that the law of Licinius forbade all possession of land, whether it was ownership or mere possession, and whether by the rich plebeians or by the patricians, which was above the fixed amount; wherein, indeed, with reference to the existing state of things, the main object that he aimed at was the patrician possessiones. The old and the new reasons for this opinion are the following:—

If we look to the testimony of the ancients, the majority of writers, and the most important, indeed in effect all of them, do not use the expression ager publicus, but simply ager, a term which comprises both (ager privatus et publicus), and they do not always use the term 'possidere,' which expresses the possession of public land (though this term can also be applied to private property), but they use as well the expression 'ha-

bere,' which also comprises possession and ownership. The elder Cato, in his speech for the Rhodians (Gellius, VII. 3), says, obviously referring to our law: Si quis plus D. iugera habere voluerit, tanta poena esto. Varro in one passage simply entitles the law, De modo agri legem, and afterwards, Lex quæ vetat plus D. iugera habere civem R. In Livy the mention of the mere word 'ager' is the more important, inasmuch as Hüllmann has observed, on other occasions when he is speaking of proper agrarian laws, that is, such as relate to the public lands, he has never neglected to add 'publicus' to the word 'ager.' Though Livy, on such occasions, generally uses the expression 'possidere' (sometimes, however, 'habere' occurs, 'domini,' and so forth), yet we cannot lay great stress on this, because, as already remarked, the term does not exclude ownership in land. Velleius Paterculus (II. 6) says also on the occasion of the law of Gracchus: 'Vetabat quemquam civem plus quingentis iugeribus habere, quod aliquando lege Licinia cautum erat.' Pliny 18, 4 (3): 'Quippe etiam lege Stolonis Licinii incluso modo quingentorum iugerum et ipso sua lege damnato, quum substituta filii persona amplius possideret.' Not to mention Valerius Maximus, 8, 6, 3, &c., and Aurelius Victor De Vir. Illust. 20; though the passage in Valerius Maximus, if it could be proved that it was entirely taken from a good source, would be very decisive, since he states that Stolo, in order to evade his own law, emancipated the half of his possession of one thousand jugera to his own son; for it is well known that mancipation was not admissible in the case of land possessed, but only in the case of land that was a man's property."

This is the argument of Huschke, so far as it is founded on the Latin writers. The only passages of Livy to which he refers are the following, which he places in a note (9), p. 5: VI. 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, and VII. 16; 'quod mille jugerum agri cum filio possideret,' X. 13; 'plerisque dies dicta ab ædilibus, quia plus quam lege finitum erat agri possiderent;' and XXXIV. 4. He has also a note on 'habere,' which will be presently referred to, and a note on the passage of Valerius Maximus.

The whole of this passage has been given, because it might otherwise be objected that the argument was not fairly stated. After what I have urged in a former article on the Lex Licinia

De Modo Agri, it seems almost superfluous to give a formal refutation of this uncritical attempt to establish the nature of this Licinian Law. Instead of ascertaining, by a comparison of all the passages in Livy, whether his expression (VI. 35), 'ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri possideret,' supposing it to be ambiguous, can be explained by the whole tenor of his history, and specially by the passages in which he speaks of other agrarian laws, Huschke quotes such writers as Aurelius Victor, and Valerius Maximus, the greatest of blunderers, and would even make a single passage of Valerius decisive against the whole of Livy's narrative.

However, to remove all further doubt as to Livy's meaning, and to shew beyond all dispute that he considered the Licinian law to apply to public land and to that only, I shall briefly refer to all the passages in the first six books, in which Livy speaks of public land and agrarian laws. It is possible that I may have overlooked some passages in Livy, but I have not intentionally omitted any.

One argument of Huschke, as founded on Livy, is, that when he speaks of public land, he always adds the word 'publicus' to 'ager.' I have already shewn that this is not true; and I shall now establish it more completely. He also says, that Livy several times uses 'habere,' 'domini,' &c. instead of 'possidere.' So far as I know, he uses 'habere,' once only in speaking of the public lands, and that passage has been explained. Also, so far as I know, he only uses 'domini' when he puts a speech in the mouth of persons; and he uses the expressions 'domini' by itself, and 'injusti domini,' according as it is a possessor who is speaking, or an enemy of the possessors. Huschke has not referred to the passages in which 'habere,' 'domini,' &c., occur several times. Indeed in the expression '&c.' (und so weiter) the chief part of his argument must lie, and he may possibly have in reserve a store of proofs which he has not yet communicated.

The First division of land mentioned by Livy is that by Servius Tullius (I. 46—"conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso:' shortly after he remarks—'de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi (Tarquinius).' This passage is of no great importance in itself; but it shews that the Patres did not like the distribution of conquered land among the Plebs. In another passage in the

first book (c. 47) Tarquinius Superbus, when addressing the Patres, says of Servius—"fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipso sit, odio alienæ honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse." This passage is of no further importance than as one instance out of several, in which the conquered land is represented as claimed by the patricians as their own.

In the Second book, the subject of agrarian laws often occurs. The first mention of them is the attempt of Spurius Cassius (II. 41) to distribute public land among the plebs; a passage which I have already noticed. This attempt of Cassius is alluded to by Livy (VI. 17), in that same book which he closes with the account of the laws of Licinius: his words are, 'Spurium Cassium in agros plebem vocantem.' Here the word 'publicus' is not used. The phrase 'in agros vocare,' was a common Roman expression to signify the grant or proposed grant of public land. Thus in another passage of Livy (X. 21), 'in agros mitti,' occurs in the same sense.

Other passages in the second book, which refer to public lands, are the following—II. 42, 43, 44, 48, 52, 54, 61, 63. In chapter 42, the proposed law of Cassius is alluded to: in chapter 43, Spurius Licinius, a tribune of the plebs, attempts to make use of his power, to impose on the patricians an agrarian law—'venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariæ patribus injungendæ.' In chapter 43, a tribune again agitates an agrarian law. In chapter 48, the consul Cæso Fabius, with the view of restoring concord between the two orders, and to prevent the agitation of the tribunes, proposed that the patricians should anticipate them by distributing the conquered land equally among the plebs, on the ground that they who won the land were entitled to it. The patricians rejected the proposal. Peace and plenty brought on the agitation anew. In chapter 52, the tribunes begin their agitation again—'tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege:' and again, chapter 54, the tribunes are busy at their work: 'agrariæ legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat.' Another turbulent year comes (c. 61). There was a struggle about an agrarian law, and there was the trial of Appius Claudius Sabinus, the opponent of the law—'cui acerrimo adversario legis caussamque possessorum publici agri tanquam tertio consuli sustinenti, M. Duilius and C. Sicinius diem dixere.' We must not forget that in the sixth book (VI. 40),

on the occasion of the contests about the Licinian Rogations, another Appius Claudius, the grandson of the decemvir, and the great-grandson of this Appius Claudius, maintains the cause of the patricians, and commences his address in the following terms—'Neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si quod unum familiæ nostræ semper objectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiæ genti jam inde ab initio nil antiquius in republica patrum majestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse.' Here the speaker alludes to the resistance made by his ancestors to the claims of the plebs, and particularly to their claims to the conquered land. There is no intimation that the matter in dispute in the sixth book was different from the matter in dispute in the former books.

In the next year (II. 63), affairs were near coming to a crisis: "non ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariæ legis, ultimaque vis parabatur."

After the capture of Antium, Tiberius Aemilius and Q. Fabius were consuls (B.C. 467). Aemilius had already (III. 1) proposed an agrarian law in his previous consulship: 'jam priori consulatu Aemilius dandi agri plebi auctor fuerat.' Here Livy does not use the word publicus, though it was public land that Aemilius had proposed to give, as we see from the passage in the second book (61): "turbulentior inde annus excepit, L. Valerio, Tiberio Aemilio Consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter judicium Appii Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis, caussamque possessorum publici agri," &c., as already quoted. From this we learn that Livy uses the phrase 'dare agrum plebi' in the sense of giving public land to the plebs; that he uses the phrase 'dare agrum plebi' when he is speaking of an agrarian law; and that he uses the phrase 'dare agrum plebi' when he means to inform us that it was proposed to give 'ager' to the plebs by dispossessing the 'possessores publici agri.' He informs us, (III. 1) that the proposal 'dare agrum plebi,' disturbed the 'possessores'[1] et magna pars

[1] 'Possessores et magna pars patrum.' I do not know if any observation has been made on this passage before. If the reading is right, and it is said that all the MSS. except one have *et*, the proper inference is that there were possessores who were not patres. But I suspect that the *et* is an interpolation, and that the meaning is, 'the possessors, who were a large part of the patres.' And perhaps this interpretation of the passage will agree better with the expression in

patrum :' and that the matter was settled by sending a colony to Antium, which had been captured the year before: 'ita sine querelis possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem in concordia fore.' Thus for the present matters were settled. The patricians gave up the claim to the newly conquered land, though they had before refused to listen to the proposal (II. 48), for the sake of keeping what they held of the public land. Agrarian agitation was stopped for the present, and no more is said of it in the third book. The two orders were occupied with other matters, and this book closes with the decemviral legislation.

The public land was not the only matter of dispute between the two orders. There were many other questions, in which the wealthy plebeians were much more interested than the poor. The Fourth book opens with the dispute about connubium between the plebs and the patricians, and finally a lex was passed which made marriages between the two orders legal marriages. As it happens in every state where there is a democratical element, sometimes one question and sometimes another was brought forward. An agrarian law was the ready instrument of the tribunes, when they had no other tool to work with; and when any new land was acquired in war, they had an object to turn their tool to.

In the Fourth book the following passages contain allusions to agrarian laws: 12, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 58.

In chapter 12, 'neque ut de agris dividendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum pervincere potuit.' Here the word 'publicus' is not used, and yet public land is meant. In chapter 44, 'mentio in senatu de agris dividendis;' where the word 'publicus' is not used, but public land is meant. In chapter 47, the senate anticipate the agitation by sending a colony to Lavici. In chapter 48, we find fresh agitation; the tribunes Sp. Mæcilius and Metilius promulgate a rogatio 'ut ager ex hostibus captus viritim divideretur.' The rest of the passage has been quoted in my former article "De Modo Agri." Now it is worthy of remark that this rogatio proposed to divide all the land taken in war equally among the citizens. It had no reference to any

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IV. 48, 'magnæque partis nobilium eo plebiscito publicarentur fortunæ.' However, I note the passage for the benefit of those whose opinions are opposed to my own.

particular land. The proposal comes in the chapter after that which speaks of the colony sent to Lavici, and it was made in the very next year. A formidable contest between the two orders was expected, but it was averted by the dexterity of Appius Claudius Crassus, the son of the decemvir. He suggested that the patricians must gain over the rest of the tribunes, and stop the rogatio by their intercessio; which was done. This Appius Claudius Crassus is the uncle of the Appius Claudius Crassus who so vigorously, but unsuccessfully, opposed the rogations of Licinius (Livy, VI. 35, &c.)

In chapter 49, the doctrine that those who won the land should have it, is again laid down by the tribune Sextius. The passage in chapter 51, I have already referred to in the former article: this passage embodies the substance of the complaint against the patricians with respect to the public lands; they were not satisfied with keeping the public lands (publici agri) which they forcibly held (quos vi tenerent); they claimed also all the land that might from time to time be conquered.

In chapter 58, a war broke out with Veii. The young men complained of the constant wars. The tribunes encouraged the discontent; they declared that the most difficult war that the plebeians had on hand was with the patricians, who purposely exposed them to the dangers of foreign wars, that the plebeians might not, if there was quiet at home, agitate about colonies, public land, and other matters. This passage is only quoted, as one of several, to shew that the contest about the public land is represented by Livy as lying between the patricians and the plebs.

The Fifth book contains little about the public land. The Romans were occupied with the siege and capture of Veii, and Rome itself was soon after plundered by the Gauls. In chapter 24, there was agitation of various kinds, to stop which, lands in the Volscian territory had been distributed among three thousand Roman citizens. Upon the rejection of the proposed law for removing from Rome to Veii (v. 30), the consuls moved in the senate and the senate passed a Consultum for distributing seven jugera a head of the land of Veii among the plebs; 'nec patribus familiæ tantum, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum capitum ratio haberetur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.' The plebs were so much pleased with this (c. 31), that the consular comitia passed off quietly.

The passages in the Sixth book are 5, 6, 16, 21, 35, and from the 35th to the end of the book.

The people were busily employed with restoring the city after the Gallic invasion, and the tribunes could not at first gain much attention to their agrarian agitation and their talk about the Pomptine land (VI. 5). In the next year but one, the plebs were more inclined to listen about the Pomptine land (VI. 6), "mobiliorem ad cupiditatem agri quam fuerat." Here there is no word publicus, and yet the Pomptine land is meant (VI. 6), which in another chapter (VI. 5) Livy had already alluded to as publicus ager. In chapter 16, an outbreak was threatened on the part of the plebs. The senate anticipated it by granting, unasked, two jugera and a half of land to two thousand citizens. The land was at Satricum. Here the word public is not used; but it was public land. If we adopt Huschke's mode of interpretation, it was private land, because the word public is not used: it was land of which the owners were robbed, in order that the land might be given to others,—a mode of proceeding which would have been more likely to raise a disturbance than to settle it. Or, if it was not public land, because the word public is not used, it might be either public or private land, or some of both. But does Livy ever write in this confused way?

In chapter 21, the senate wish to induce the plebs to enlist readily for the contemplated war. They resort to their old expedient, and quinqueviri were appointed for distributing the Pomptine land, which has been mentioned before.

Finally we come (chapter 35) to the agitators, C. Licinius and L. Sextius, who 'promulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis: unam de ære alieno, &c., alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quam quingenta jugera agri possideret,' &c. This was the final scene of that long struggle about the public land, which commenced with the attempt of Spurius Cassius. The reasons which may be derived from the chapters which come after the 35th, in support of the view here taken, have been already given fully enough in a previous article.

It is singular that a writer who professes to establish the meaning of the Licinian Rogation De Modo Agri should content himself with dwelling on isolated passages, instead of taking into account the whole history of previous agrarian

agitation, from a review of which we may be helped in determining whether the legislation of Licinius had the same object as that for which the plebs had been contending ever since the proposed law of Cassius, or whether it was something different. Now the whole tenor of Roman history shews that there was a never-ending dispute about the public land. Appian (*Civil Wars*, I. 1) mentions it as one of the matters constantly agitated: the plebs or the agitators were continually proposing a division; the patricians as constantly opposed the division, and only yielded now and then, when they could not help it. There is not a word, not an intimation in any record of antiquity, that, previous to the legislation of Licinius, it was ever proposed at Rome to limit the ownership of private land; nor is there, so far as I know, any intimation of its being attempted afterwards. Cicero (*De Officiis*, II. 21) speaks of an agrarian law proposed by the tribune Philippus, which, however, he was well content to allow to be thrown out; but in his harangues on the occasion Philippus made use of an expression which savoured of an equal division of property (ad æquationem bonorum pertinens). Cicero had just observed, that he who administers a state should particularly see that each man shall keep his own secure, and that there shall be no disposing of private property by any public measure. If Cicero had known or believed that the law of Licinius meant what Huschke maintains that it does, he might have alleged, instead of a mere talk that threatened private property, an example of private property being actually interfered with by the law of Licinius. Those who maintain that the law of Licinius interfered with private property, should be able to shew, at least, some one other instance in the whole history of Rome of such a measure being talked of, in order to oppose the presumption arising from the whole tenor of Roman history in favour of Niebuhr's view of the object of this law of Licinius.

The history of the proposed agrarian law of Spurius Cassius, as given by Dionysius (*Antiq. Rom.* VIII. 70) is valuable, as adding one more evidence to the uniform agreement of all the writers, Greek and Roman, who treat of this subject. The historical worth of Dionysius is not the question here: I merely propose to shew how he viewed the subject. He represents Cassius (c. 70) as claiming a division among the plebs of the land which had been gained in war, which was in name indeed

public, but in fact occupied by the patricians most shamelessly and without any manner of right. In the deliberations in the senate (c. 73) Appius opposed the division of the public land; he said that the plebeians would make disagreeable and unprofitable neighbours in the country, they who were an idle rabble, and used to fatten on the public; he was against the alienation of public property generally. He proposed that senators should be appointed to ascertain the boundaries of the public land, and if they found any private persons who either fraudulently or by force were depasturing or cultivating it, they should decide on the case, and restore to the state its own. He proposed as to the public land, that, when its boundaries were ascertained, part should be sold, and the[2] other part let, and the rents should be applied towards paying the soldiers, and supplying the necessary expenditure for the wars. After some further remarks, he adds, if the plebs shall see those removed from the public land who are now enjoying it, and that which is public property really treated as public property, they will cease to envy us, and will remit from their desire of a division of the lands among all of them, when they have learnt that the common possession of the lands is more profitable than a small portion to each. For, said he, we should shew them how great the difference is; and that every poor man, if he gets a bit of land, may find troublesome neighbours, and he will neither be able to cultivate it by reason of his poverty, nor will he find any man to hire it of him, except a neighbour: but if large portions, supplying varied cultivation for farmers, &c., such as is worth something, should be let by the state, they will bring in great revenues, &c. The speech of A. Sempronius Atratinus is to the same effect. Among other things he urged, that the plebs were vexed that they had no enjoyment of the public property, and that some of the patricians wrongfully enjoyed it. If, he said, they see the public property really made public, and its revenues applied to public purposes, they will think that it makes no difference to them whether they participate in the land or its profits.

In another passage (IX. 51) Dionysius speaks of the attempt of the consuls, L. Valerius and Tiberius Æmilius, to carry into effect the senatusconsultum. [illegible] made for the

[2] The text is here deficient [illegible] is wanting.

purpose of meeting the agitation of Cassius. L. Æmilius, the father of the consul Æmilius, supported the proposition, which was opposed by Appius Claudius, the consul of the preceding year. He opposed the division of public property, and the carrying into effect the senatusconsultum, on certain technical grounds. But he said, if any man, by force or fraud, had appropriated public property, he had a short answer to that. If any one, he said, knows another who is enjoying land which he cannot shew that he is possessing conformably to law, let him lay an information before the consuls (*μήνυσιν ἀπενεγκάτω*), and let the matter be brought to a decision according to the laws, which there will be no necessity now to make, for they have been made long ago, and no time has rendered them obsolete. He then replies to the argument of Æmilius, which was founded on the policy of dividing the public property, of giving allotments of lands. Appius was soon after brought to trial on various grounds; but he died before judgment, or laid violent hands upon himself (Dionysius, IX. 54; Livy, II. 61).

A long speech, put into the mouth of L. Siccius Dentatus (Dionysius, X. 36, &c.), complains that the Roman soldiers won the lands from the enemy, and that the best part of those lands was occupied by the greatest wrong-doers and most shameless men in the state, who had no title to the lands by gift, purchase, or any other legal way. We find in Livy the like complaints.

Now the opinion of Dionysius may be worth little, for I assume that the speeches contain such opinions as he had formed as to the nature and occupation of the public land. But it is worth while seeing if he understood the proposed laws of Cassius, and the like measures that followed shortly after, as Livy understood them; and it is instructive to trace in him, as in Livy, the obstinate resistance made by the successive members of the Claudia Gens to the recognition of any claim to the public lands by the plebeians. When the grandson of Appius Claudius Sabinus, and the son of Appius the decemvir, opposed the agrarian law of Spurius Mæcilius and Metilius (Livy, IV. 48), he acted on the same grounds on which his nephew, the grandson of the decemvir, opposed the legislation of Licinius (Livy, VI. 35, &c.).

Dionysius is a writer who has of late received a liberal portion of abuse: sometimes he is called a blockhead, and various names to the like effect. Certainly no critic would write a his-

tory of Rome after him, but still he is useful. For instance, he shews a clear perception of the nature of the Roman public land, and his views are quite consistent with all that we know from other authorities. His speeches contain his views as advanced by the opposing parties. He understood well that the patricians and many other sensible people had looked on the public land as the source of the revenue of the state, as that which was not to render all other taxation unnecessary, but was to supply the means for a large part of the national expenditure. That the land was often possessed wrongfully, and that the state derived no benefit from it, was an abuse. But the continual alienation of the public lands, which were given to the poor in small allotments, was opposed by many of the wisest Romans, not merely on grounds of private interest, but of public utility. What advantage could the state possibly derive from giving away its lands, which, if properly managed, would bring in a large revenue? And what advantage could men accustomed to a town life derive from small allotments, which, small as they were, they had not the means to cultivate, nor often the necessary knowledge? These continual grants of land should be viewed in connection with the Roman Frumentariæ Leges, or laws for the relief of the poor by the distribution of grain, either gratis, or at a price below the market price: they were both in the nature of poor laws. The Romans in vain struggled with the evil of pauperism, a disease inherent in states: they only aggravated the disease by their unwise measures. The alienation of the public lands led to the necessity of getting taxes from their increasing empire in every way. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus (II. 16), has some good remarks on this subject, with reference to the law of C. Julius Cæsar for the division of the Campanian land, a tract that had never been touched by agrarian agitation till the bold hand of Cæsar was laid upon it. He carried his law, to the great dissatisfaction of all the 'boni,' as Cicero calls them (he was one of them himself): they complained that the port duties in Italy were already repealed, the Campanian land was now divided, and what revenue remained to be derived from Italy except the vicesima, which was a twentieth of the value of slaves manumitted or sold? The remarks of Cicero (*Contra Rullum*, II. 29) on the value of the public lands as a resource for the state are instructive. The fertile plains of Campania were the last bit of

property that the state had in Italy. Under Augustus, it was necessary to remodel the whole subject of taxation throughout the empire, for the expenses of administration were increased, and the old sources of revenue in Italy were gone. Roman taxation under the Empire was very heavy.

I shall now briefly notice the several arguments of Huschke. He says that most writers, in speaking of the agrarian legislation of Licinius, use only the expression 'ager,' and that Livy always adds 'publicus' to the expression 'ager,' when he is speaking of agrarian laws. I have shewn that Livy does not always add 'publicus' to the word 'ager' in such cases; and as to other writers omitting the word 'publicus,' we must observe, that, for the sake of brevity, they spoke of the law as a measure touching land. What land was meant would appear from the law to which they referred. It is true, as Huschke observes, that the word 'ager' comprises 'ager privatus' and 'publicus;' and from this reason, alleged by himself, it follows, that if the expression 'ager' only is used, we cannot from it alone infer whether public or private land is meant. His opinion, that the Licinian law affected both private and public land, throws a singular confusion over his argumentation, which it is easier to discern than to remove, except at the expense of a great many words. I have shewn, however, that Livy does use 'ager' alone to express public land; it must, therefore, be admitted, that in the passage in the sixth book (c. 35) 'ager' may mean public land only; and I have endeavoured to shew that in this passage it does mean only public land.

He then remarks, that the word 'possidere' can apply to all property, though he also admits that it is the proper word to express possession in the public lands. If we grant this, what does it prove? According to him, as 'possidere' can apply to private property also, as well as to the enjoyment of public land, the bare use of that word, with nothing to explain it, must leave it doubtful, in any given passage, whether public or private land is meant. As in the case of the omission of the word 'publicus' when 'ager' is used, he contends that we cannot tell whether public or private land is meant; so in the case of the word 'possidere,' he contends that we cannot, from that word alone, determine in any given passage whether the possession refers to public or private land. If we admit this to be so, must we therefore conclude that when 'possidere' is used, and

there is nothing to determine to what kind of land it refers, we must suppose it to refer both to public and to private land, when, as Huschke admits, it is the only proper word to express possession in public land?

But the remark of Huschke requires some further observation. If he means, that the word 'possidere' can be applied to private land, the remark is true, but not new. A man can be said to possess (possidere) private land: but to possess, in the strict Roman sense of the term, is not to be the owner. Possession is opposed to ownership. If Huschke means to say, that 'possidere' also is sometimes used, not in its proper legal sense, to signify, to own, and possessor is used to signify owner, that is also true. It was sometimes so used by legal writers, and by the classical writers, as Cicero and Horace. But does Livy, anywhere in the first six books, or anywhere else, use 'possidere,' 'possessor,' 'possessio,' to express 'to own,' 'an owner,' 'a thing owned?' If he does not, the presumption is, that he uses 'possidere,' when he is quoting the terms of the Licinian Rogation, in the same sense in which he has so often used the word before, in that sense in which Huschke admits that it signifies possession in the public lands. Savigny remarks (*Das Recht des Besitzes*, p. 85, fifth ed.), that when 'possidere' and 'possessio' are used in legal writings to express ownership, this use occurs nearly exclusively in those cases where testaments, contracts, and consultations are mentioned, which shews that the inexact use of 'possidere' did not pass generally from the language of ordinary life into legal language, but insinuated itself, by virtue of such instruments as were drawn up in the language of ordinary life, and came, in the usual course of things, to furnish matter for legal observation. I repeat, that the sense of 'possidere' in the sixth book of Livy (c.35) must be determined by the usage of that word in Livy. The question is not whether Livy used it right or wrong, but in what sense he used it, and I affirm that he only applied the word to possession in public land.

On the word 'habere,' Huschke remarks, that it comprises both possession and ownership; and this is, in a sense, true; but if it is so, what are we to infer from the use of 'habere' in the passage of Gellius (VII. 3), and in the passage of Varro, on which Huschke founds his essay? If habere can mean either of two things, and if, in any given case, as in these two

passages, there is nothing to determine which of the two things it means, no argument can be derived from it, either one way or the other. If, in any given passage, it can mean both ownership and possession at once (and Huschke apparently intends that it shall do so in the passages of Varro and Gellius), it becomes a most indefinite mode of speaking, and it should be confirmed by examples in which it is *undoubtedly* so used.

The word 'habere' in Latin, the word ἔχειν in Greek, like the word to 'have' in English and the kindred languages, is the most general of all expressions: it includes ownership and every act which is an exercise of ownership. But as the acts of ownership can be exercised without having ownership, so to 'have' may be used, and is used, when no ownership is affirmed or implied. Ownership is a mere legal notion: he who *has* with ownership, and he who *has* without ownership, cannot be distinguished by any outward sign. It is only the law which declares that he who *has* according to a prescribed mode has as owner, and he who *has* not according to the prescribed mode, may *have*, but he has not the legal abstraction called ownership. Huschke correctly remarks, that the words 'habere, possidere, utive frui,' are used as an exhaustive terminology for all legal enjoyment in certain Roman laws, and he conjectures that the Licinian law ran thus: "Ne plus quam D. iugera agri, loci (sumere) utifrui habere, possidere (relinquere ?) liceat." This may be so, and the expression might still apply to public land only. In the form of acceptilatio (Dig. 48, tit. 4, s. 18), the phrase occurs: "quodve meum habes, tenes, possides," where the object is to exhaust all the modes of having another man's property. We can say to a man, 'habes meum,' which negatives all property in the haver; we can say, 'habes tuum,' which affirms the property to be in the haver. We can say of a thief, that he has, 'habet,' what he has stolen, but stealing never changed one man's property into another man's, in any system of law. The Romans had no one verb to express *ownership* as distinct from *having*, nor have we, nor perhaps any other language. We have made a verb of the word 'own,' and other languages must express the notion of property, as added to having, by some additional word, or by some verb formed from the notion contained in the term which expresses the individuality of a man. An enumeration of the uses of the word 'habeo' would probably shew in all cases by the context what

kind of having is meant. As to the passages from Livy, which, as already mentioned, Huschke refers to in a note, he has not pointed out the distinction between those passages in which Livy is writing as an historian, and those which he puts into the mouth of the speaker,—a distinction which must be made, for otherwise we have contradictory things asserted by the historian. Appius Claudius speaks of the patricians as the 'domini' of the lands which the rogation of Licinius would affect. A tribune (Liv. IV. 53) speaks of the patricians as 'injusti (illegal) domini,' and the patricians are also called 'injusti possessores' by their opponents. Now 'domini,' by itself, means legal owners; 'injusti domini' means illegal owners; and if Livy called the patricians by both names, he would have confused his narrative, which is singularly clear on this point. If, when the tribune calls the patricians 'injusti domini,' he meant to say that they had no legal title to their private land, the answer is, that is a matter which concerned neither the state nor the plebs. If a man holds a piece of private land without a good title, let him come who has a better, and take it from him in due legal form. This is the way that disputed claims to private lands are settled in all civilized states, and this was the way in which they were settled at Rome. This is a point to be insisted on: if the land to which the Licinian law applied was private, or if any part of the land to which that law referred was private, it was held either by bad title or good. If held by bad title, the state had nothing to do with it on that account: it was a question between one private person and another. If held by good title, it was held by the same title as all other private land. But, it may be rejoined, it was held by good title, and the law merely limited the amount of private land that a man should be allowed to hold, and at the same time limited the amount of the public land which he should possess. If so, the plebeians were affected by the law as much as the patricians, which Huschke indeed contends for: but then, how are we to explain the fact that the patricians only are represented as opposing the law? No complaint has been made in Livy as to the amount of private property; all the complaints in the first six books are directed against the possession of the public land. Yet a patrician or a plebeian, who had above 500 jugera of private land, was to be cut down to that measure, if he held not a single acre of public land; and any man who possessed above 500

jugera of public land and no private land, was to have his possession cut down to 500. This would be, in effect, to view private land and possession in public land as the same thing, whereas all people admit that there was a great difference.

The passage of Velleius Paterculus (II. 6), which Huschke quotes, seems to have been dragged in, simply because it contained the word 'habere.' The passage, however, proves not the point for which it is quoted, but the point which I maintain. When Velleius says, that the "law of Gracchus forbade any citizen to have more than 500 jugera, which was formerly provided for by the Licinian law," it is consistent with the plainest usage of language, that the 'habere' must, according to Velleius, have the same sense in the law of Gracchus and in the law of Licinius. Now the law of Gracchus applied to public land only; therefore, according to Velleius, the law of Licinius did also. The passage from Pliny which Huschke next quotes contains 'possideret,' not 'haberet;' and I do not know any reason why it is here brought forward, except it be to shew, that if Velleius uses 'habere,' Pliny uses 'possideret.'

The passage of Aurelius Victor (De Viris Illustribus, c. 20) is this: 'idem (Licinius Stolo) lege scivit, ne cui plebeio plus centum jugera agri habere liceret. Et ipse cum jugera quinquaginta centum haberet, et altera emancipati filii nomine possideret,' &c. Huschke has no remark on this passage, but as he has referred to it, I shall make one. The passage may be corrupt; but it is corrupt all through, or false. The value of the information may be estimated from the fact, that in the preceding sentence, Aurelius Victor says that Stolo was the first plebeian consul, contrary to all evidence: Livy, Plutarch, and the Fasti Capitolini, agree in saying that L. Sextius was the first plebeian consul. The word 'plebeio' contains a blunder; the centum 'jugera' contains another; and the 'quinquaginta centum,' a third; the 'emancipati filii nomine' is a proof that he completely misunderstood the story about Licinius violating his own law: and, lastly, he uses 'haberet' and 'possideret' in the same sense, which is the only part of his text to which there is no objection. The statement in Victor is copied from Livy, and it is a good example of the worthlessness of his compilation.

Valerius Maximus (8, 6, 3), speaking of this affair of Stolo, says: 'dissimulandi criminis causa dimidiam partem filio emancipavit.' Savigny (*Das Recht des Besitzes*, 175, note, 5th ed.)

conjectures that Valerius turned the emancipation of the son into the emancipation of the land to the son. Huschke observes in a note, that "the not strictly juristical expression 'emancipavit,' in place of 'mancipavit,' diminishes one's confidence in this passage of the compiler;" and he is inclined to adopt Savigny's conjecture. But suppose we read 'mancipavit,' a term properly applicable only to the transfer of private property. If so, Huschke considers the passage decisive; but he does not say decisive of what. According to his view, the Licinian law applied both to public and private land. If the passage of Valerius were decisive, it would decide that Licinius parted with 500 jugera of his *private* land to his son to evade the law; and so far, if it were decisive, it would decide that the law applied only to private property; because, if this passage in itself could be decisive, we must look for no further evidence to add to it or explain it; and consequently he who parts with 500 jugera of his private land to evade a law, attempts to evade a law that applies only to private land; for by the supposition of the passage being decisive, other evidence is excluded. But Huschke maintains, in the first part of the extract which I have given, that the law applies both to private and to public land: here, by an implication which is a strict deduction, he maintains that it applies only to private land. He maintains, therefore, one proposition, and also another and a contradictory proposition.

Huschke now proceeds:—"Now there remain only two Greek writers who are supposed expressly to refer the lex Licinia to the public land (Appian, *De Bell. Civ.* I. 8, and Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 8, 16). When carefully examined, however, both writers speak rather for than against our meaning." It must be remembered that he refers the Licinian law both to the public and to private land, as appears from the extract at the head of this article.

With respect to the expression in Appian: *μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα*, he observes 'that *τῆσδε* is found only in two MSS., and was introduced by Schweighaüser into his edition, while all other editions and *probably* MSS. also have only *τῆς γῆς*, in which case that reference to what immediately precedes would no longer exist.' However, even if we admit *τῆσδε γῆς*, he contends that this expression in chapter 8, 'this land,' refers to those lands mentioned in

chapter 7, 'which had been bought or taken from the small farmers, to which Livy also several times refers' (p. 8). He does not mention the passages of Livy; if there are such in the first six books, they should have been referred to. He then goes on: 'these small farms might certainly be ager publicus occupatorius. But as, according to Appian's own account, very little of this was ever held by poor people, we must rather understand the agri privati distributed to coloni.' If I understand the author right, he would prove that the τῆς γῆς of chapter 8 comprehended only the agri privati bought of coloni: if so, according to his interpretation of Appian, the law applied only to private land; and yet in the extract given at the head of the article, Huschke says that it applied to both public and private land.

I leave the just interpretation of these two passages to those who will take the pains to read them carefully; and I have nothing to add to what I have already said about them (p. 270, &c.).

Huschke says that Plutarch, in his Life of Camillus (c. 39), gives the terms of the law without referring to the ager publicus; which is true. However, Huschke might have observed that his κεκτῆσθαι represents the Latin 'possidere,' as his κτηματικοί in the Life of the Gracchi represent the 'possessores.' He admits that Plutarch in his Life of Tiberius Gracchus represents the Licinian law as if it referred only to ager publicus possessus; but then he adds that in quoting the general purport of the law (νόμος οὐκ ἐῶν πλέθρα γῆς ἔχειν πλείονα πεντακοσίων), Plutarch does not say that 'the law meant merely 500 iugera agri publici possessi, but Plutarch might, in his own mind, view the matter thus: as the law had fixed a maximum to landed possessions in general, the greediness of the rich was thereby alone kept within certain limits as to the occupation of the state lands. Consequently, the evidence of the authorities, accurately examined, altogether contradicts the view of Niebuhr.'

Now Plutarch, in his Life of Tiberius Gracchus, speaks only of public land. He begins the chapter (VII.) with an account of its origin, and there is no indication of any kind that he is speaking of or alluding to private land. This is one striking instance, and not the only one in this essay, that the writer has not treated the subject in good faith. He sees clearly that

Plutarch's meaning is entirely opposed to his, and instead of stating this, as an honest critic should do, he resorts to the miserable device of suggesting that Plutarch meant something which he has not said, and which something is contradicted by what he has said. One does not expect to find a critic handling evidence as if he were a hired advocate. It is true indeed that all men are liable enough to be carried away by their own view of a question, to see all that is favourable to their side, and to overlook much that is against it; but this critic has not overlooked; he has eyes, and he will not see.

I have given as fairly as I can all the arguments of Huschke up to the point when he concludes that he has overturned Niebuhr's theory. Those who read must decide for themselves.

There are other parts of Huschke's argument, which I must notice briefly for want of space. His general argument has been fully given; and if I refer to the remainder in a very slight way, it is not because I would prejudice the reader against his theory. I recommend every person who wishes to see one of the main points in early Roman history set on a sure basis, to read Niebuhr and Huschke, and compare them both with the authorities. He will find ample matter for criticism in both of them.

Huschke considers that his theory is strengthened by the fact, that the terms of the limitation of the number of cattle by the Licinian law do not contain the expression 'ager (saltus) publicus.' Hence he concludes, that the number was an absolute limitation, and referred to all land. I see no weight in his argument; and I refer to what I have already said.

Huschke (p. 10, &c.) considers that his view of the Licinian Rogation is strengthened by observing its relation to the agrarian law of the Gracchi. His argument contains some good remarks, but, so far as I understand him, it may be incorporated into an essay on the Licinian legislation, which contends that this rogation of Licinius applied only to public land. So far as concerns my argument, I do not consider that it involves any inconsistency for me to say that I admit the truth of all that he says here. He correctly points out the meanness of the motives of Licinius, whose only object was to secure to the rich plebeians admission to the priesthood and the consulship; the rest of his legislation was only intended to

gain the votes of the plebs for this his main object. The little that is known of Licinius is very unfavourable to his character; his legislation about the lands and the debts was a means of agitation; and it is quite consistent to find him afterwards coming within the penalties of his own law. An honest popular leader is a rare thing. Tiberius Gracchus perhaps was honest; Licinius, so far as we know his acts, was not. The following remark (p. 12) may contain some truth, and is worth consideration: "Consequently, in reference to the new law, the tribune merely made it refer to that, as he wished to be consul, and he could do so very speciously, because the patricians as a general rule were rich, the plebeians were poor. But that already at this time both distinguished plebeians and patricians belonged to the rich whom the law affected, follows not only from the fact that the distinguished plebeians from the commencement of the republic sat in the senate, and for many years past had been tribuni militares consulari potestate, and consequently that out of them had already been formed a nobility founded on wealth; but it is clearly demonstrated by the well-known fact that Licinius, because he possessed (besass) one thousand iugera, was condemned according to his own law. The view of Niebuhr and others who follow him is consequently incorrect, when they, in connection with the rest of their error as to the contents of the Licinian law, conclude, and without any other reason assume, that the law itself in some chapter first gave to the plebeians the right to the possessio of the public land. This right they had already at an earlier period, but the poor among them, for want of influence and the necessary capital, could not enjoy it, like those, mostly patricians, who were rich and powerful; and this is the reason that on earlier occasions we always hear of the complaints of the plebs about the possessio agri publici by the patricians."

This is ingenious pleading, but the whole passage is not free from objections. The fact, that after the passing of his law Licinius was fined for violating it, cannot prove that he or any of the plebeians, before the passing of the law, belonged to an order of nobility founded on wealth. I think that the Nobiles, in the first six books of Livy, mean only the Patricians; but on that point there may be a difference of opinion. But it is true

that we cannot conclude from the bare fact of Licinius being fined, after the passing of his law, for violating it, that this law first gave the plebeians the right to a possessio agri publici.

In a note on this passage (p. 13, No. 27) Huschke refers to Livy (VI. 5), a passage which I have already quoted and commented on in the previous article, as confirming his view of the people being entitled to possess the public land. He says in the note, "Compare Livy, VI. 5." I also pray the reader to compare and see how it applies. The chapter begins with an attempt of the tribunes to attract an audience by proposing agrarian laws. Now Huschke (p. 14) admits that an agrarian law applies to public land; not that any body can doubt about the meaning of an agrarian law, but with such an argumentator one must be prepared at all points. The tribunes therefore were proposing measures about the public land: the Pomptine land, recently acquired, was the land that their talk referred to; they said that the Nobiles were taking possession of it, and that there would be no room *there* for the Plebs, unless it was divided before the nobles got it all. The plebs were busy with building after the devastation caused by the Gauls, and they had no money, and therefore they cared not for the land (or land; it is indifferent whether we insert the article or not) as they had not capital to cultivate it with. In chapter 6, the matter of the Pomptine land is again brought forward; and the plebs were more eager about the land, or land, if any one prefers that expression. In chapter 21, this Pomptine land is divided among the plebs. Does Huschke suppose that it was divided as a possessio?

In the note he further adds, that Appian and Plutarch state, that the poor had small possessions in the public land. He does not quote the words of Appian, but he alludes to those words (I. 7), which he has already explained to mean 'agri privati' given to 'coloni.' So it appears that one passage in Appian can mean one thing in p. 8 of the essay, and another thing in the note p. 13. Plutarch does say what Huschke says that he does.

Huschke, in his remarks on Niebuhr's view of the Licinian law, says (p. 14), and truly: "Niebuhr is acquainted with many other provisions of our law, besides those which the ancient writers give, and those which we, in what has preceded, have stated after them." But where did Huschke find in the ancient writers what follows

(p. 13)? "The limitation of the amount of land, which was under a penalty, must at once have brought a great quantity of land into the market, and consequently have greatly lowered the value of land, so that even the poorer citizens soon found an opportunity of again acquiring lands by purchase. But in order to raise to their usual honourable occupation the class of cultivators (which had been completely depressed, and could not easily again acquire land by purchase), Licinius compelled the rich to manage the cultivation of their land by a proportionate number of free overseers (villici), instead of slaves, who had been hitherto exclusively employed." The reference is to the passage of Appian (I. 8); and the author also refers to the beginning of Niebuhr's third volume, where he treats of the Licinian Rogations. He adds in a note to this passage (p. 14, n. 28): 'herein respect was had to the number of iugera of land, and the number of head of cattle.' But how does Huschke know this? Does he also know things about the Licinian law which the ancients do not mention? Appian does not say that the *rich* were compelled to employ free persons, nor does he say that any respect was had, in fixing the number of such persons, to the quantity of land, or to the number of head of cattle[3].

Huschke enumerates (pp. 14, 15) five provisions of the Licinian law as given by Niebuhr, for which there is no authority; and I agree with him that several of them should be expunged, because there is no sufficient authority for them; which, however, is not the only ground on which he objects to them. The remarks of Huschke in pp. 15, 16, should be read.

He then proceeds (pp. 16, 17) to contrast the Lex Sempronia Agraria of Gracchus, which he admits to be a purely agrarian law, with this of Licinius, which he contends was a lex de modo agri. The law of Gracchus was, as he affirms, a political law; this of Licinius was a sumptuary law. He refers, among other authorities, to Plutarch (*Tib. Gracchus*, 8, 10, 13) to prove that the law of Gracchus affected the public land, and yet the only perfectly distinct declaration of Plutarch, that the law of Gracchus did affect public land, is contained in the beginning of chapter 8, in which he says that the former law

[3] Compare with μηνύσειν ἔμελλον (Appian I. 8), the expression in Dionysius, μηνύσιν ἀπεινεγκάτω. I do not pretend to know what this passage of Appian means.

(that of Licinius) affected public land. Plutarch, as observed in a previous article, begins by speaking of the public land, and of the rich contriving to engross it. This, he says, was remedied by a law which limited the amount of land that a man should have. The law was observed for a time, and then neglected, so that the rich got all the land again. This was the state of things which the law of Gracchus proposed to remedy. I set little value on Plutarch's account; but Huschke, who has read it, feels that it is altogether against him, and he gets rid of this difficulty by the devices which I have shewn.

Huschke apparently relies on the expression De Modo Agri, as tending to shew that the law of Licinius was a sumptuary law. He adds in a note (p. 19, n. 39): "The lex Sempronia is called an agraria by Cicero, *Pro Sextio*, 48; Livy, *Epit.* 58. 60; Victor, *De Vir. Illust.* c. 65; while the law of Licinius is entitled De Modo Agri by Varro, *De Re Rust.* I. 2, Gellius, XX. 1, rogatione illa Stolonis iugerum de numero præfinito; Pliny, N. H. XVIII. 7 (6), § 3; Columella, I. 3:" to which he might have added, that it is entitled De Modo Agrorum by Livy, VI. 35. Now Huschke remarks, with reference to this passage of Pliny, 'Modum agri in primis servandum antiqui putavere,' &c., that it was an old rule of husbandry 'that the land should not be stronger than the man'—'satius esse minus serere et melius arare, qua in sententia et Virgilium fuisse video.' This is a good rule which all farmers should follow. But if a writer wished to lay down the rule, how is it to be expressed otherwise? 'Modus agri,' 'modus cibi,' 'modus vini,' are all very intelligible Latin expressions, and may all contain good rules according to their application. But it does not follow that a law which fixes a 'modus agri' fixes the amount which would correspond with the modus meant by Pliny. If a law fixes a modus of 500 acres to cultivation, it does not by that rule proportion every man to his land. It allows any man to have 500, and to cultivate it all. Whereas, if it were such a law as to establish the kind of modus which Pliny recommends, it would take care that no man had more than he could well cultivate, whether it were 50 or 500. This is really one of the most frivolous points in the whole essay of Huschke. Again, the passage of Gellius does not contain the expression De Modo Agri; and lastly, the passage in Columella is perfectly consistent with Livy. It is as follows, quoted by Huschke (p. 20, n. 40): "Mox

etiam cum agrorum vastitatem victoriæ nostræ et interneciones hostium fecissent, criminosum tamen senatori fuit supra quingenta iugera possedisse, suaque lege C. Licinius damnatus est, quod agri modum quem in magistratu rogatione tribunicia promulgaverat, immodica possidendi libidine transcendisset. Nec magis quia superbum videbatur tantum loci detinere, quam quia flagitiosum, quos hostis profugiendo desolasset agros, novo more civem Romanum supra vires patrimonii possidendo deserere." There is no 'habeo' here; no ambiguity in support of his theory: all is clear and distinct. Yet it is quoted by Huschke. It is not my design to examine the rest of Huschke's essay, on which I offer no opinion; but if he is wrong in his view of this Licinian law, the error must affect the rest of the essay, as will appear from the extract at the head of this article.

This essay is often ingenious, and if the author had really been bent on discovering the truth instead of merely refuting Niebuhr's opinion, we might have had from him some further insight into the subject of the Licinian Rogations. But the desire to uphold his own theory, in spite of all evidence, is too apparent. I ought to add, that though I have attempted to defend Niebuhr's general view of the Licinian Rogations, I do not maintain the accuracy of the details.

GEORGE LONG.

NOTE.—On the Appius Claudius mentioned by Livy (IV. 36) as the son of the Decemvir, and in IV. 48 as the *nepos* of the Decemvir; and on the Appius Claudius (VI. 40), who is also called the *nepos* of the Decemvir, see the notes in Drakenborch's Livy, and Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Claudii.

XXII.

ON THE PARTICLES ΌΠΩΣ AND ΏΣ ΆΝ, WITH A CONJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

When Alcibiades is urging the Lacedæmonians to send assistance to Syracuse, he recommends them above all things to despatch a Spartan officer thither, ὡς ἂν τοὺς τε παρόντας ξυντάξῃ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας προσαναγκάσῃ (vi. 91). Upon this Dr. Arnold remarks: "The meaning of ὡς ἂν seems to be pretty nearly the same as that of the other reading ὅς ἄν. In both cases the particle renders the expression *more doubtful;* ὡς ἄν is, *that he may if possible organize;* ὅς ἂν would signify, *if a man can be found to organize.* See Hermann's note on Viger, 285." Thus much Dr. Arnold. On the other hand, the learned editor of the Agamemnon, Dr. Peile, in an elaborate note upon the 353rd line of that play, comes to the conclusion, "that ὅπως and ὡς ἄν express a consequence *necessarily* arising out of the nature or manner of the action which goes before." He then subjoins: "Apart from, and it may be even independent of, any formal and premeditated *purpose.*"

This, it must be admitted, is "a very pretty quarrel as it stands;" the one doctor asserts that the addition of the particle ἄν makes the consequence *contingent,* the other that it makes it *necessary.* In a case, therefore, where "doctors" so manifestly "disagree," we propose to avail ourselves of the licence then conceded to disciples, and to inquire which interpretation best suits those passages where we happen to have met with the formula. Some of course there are, in which, for all practical purposes, both explanations pretty nearly coincide. These consequently prove nothing for either side. If, however, we encounter passages where the one meaning is necessary and the other is absurd, while the converse cannot be shewn ever to be the case, then, according to a well-known canon of criticism (Porson *ad Hec.*, v. 392), we are bound to accept the meaning proved to be necessary in particular passages, as proper in all. Let us then apply this principle to the point in question, and first of all take the suffrages of the dramatic poets as to whether ἄν makes the expression necessary or contingent. After-

we wish to say a few words upon the general theory which regards the formulæ ὡς ἄν, ὅπως ἄν, &c. as denoting a necessary consequence, apart it may be from any *purpose* expressed or implied.

That Dr. Arnold is neither singular nor original in his opinion is evident from the commentary of Göller on the passage: "Krueg. *ad Dionys.*, p. 332, emendat ὅς ἄν, ut habent Ar. Chr. Cl. Ven., nam ὡς cum conjunctivo ibi tantum locum habere, ubi consilii eventus dubius est." He himself adds, "ut ὡς et ὡς ἄν finem ac consilium indicant nihil amplius,"—an explanation of the matter which is not very definite or intelligible. Poppo denies that ὅς ἄν would be Greek at all in this place; i. e. it would mean *quicunque continuerit*, and not *qui contineat*, which is the sense required here.

To this we shall recur hereafter; at present let us proceed by an examination of particular cases to determine the meaning of the controverted phrase. We commence with Æschylus. When Prometheus says, addressing the chorus with reference to Io,

> ὅπως δ' ἂν εἰδῇ μὴ μάτην κλύουσά μου
> ἃ πρὶν μολεῖν δευρ' ἐκμεμόχθηκεν φράσω. P.V. v. 843.

We conceive that he intends this promised display of a supernatural acquaintance with her *past* wanderings, to act as a *positive assurance* that those predictions of her *future* wanderings already given will *certainly* be fulfilled. Nay, it is not left to conjecture, for in the very next line he assumes the correctness of his narrative to be a τεκμήριον of his veracity:

> τεκμήριον τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δοὺς μύθων ἐμῶν.

Now every reader of Aristotle knows τεκμήριον to be the technical term for a certain, indisputable ground of proof, opposed to σημεῖον (when used in its specific sense), or a ground of presumption:

> τὸ γὰρ τεκμήριον τὸ εἰδέναι ποιοῦν φάσιν εἶναι.
> Analyt. Prior. II. c. 29.
> τούτων τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον (necessary in its inference) τεκμήριον.
> Rhet. Lib. I.

Again, the exhortations of Io's nightly visitant were, we are told, couched in these words:

Σὺ δ' ὦ παῖ μὴ 'πολακτίσῃς λέχος
τὸ Ζῆνος, ἀλλ' ἔξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν
λειμῶνα, πολύμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός,
ὡς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πόθου. P.V. v. 672.

Surely Jupiter was too gallant, and, as scandal avers, too well-practised a lover to commit such a mistake as to declare that the appearance of his mistress would only give him a *possible* and *hypothetical* satisfaction.

We open Sophocles at a venture, and discover Œdipus requesting the presence of Theseus:

ὡς ἂν προσαρκῶν σμικρὰ κερδάνῃ μέγα. Œdip. Col. v. 72.

Œdipus we know from the context had not the slightest doubt in his own mind but that his interment in the country would be of essential service to the Athenian monarch; or even if he *had*, he would necessarily under the circumstances have been the last person in the world to say any thing which might make the accomplishment of the promise appear dubious.

Nor, again, when Theseus exclaims, δίδασχ' ὅπως ἂν ἐκμάθῳ, v. 575, have we the slightest reason to suppose that he doubted his own powers of comprehension.

The same remark applies with still greater force to a passage in the Electra. Orestes says to the Παιδαγώγος,

ἴσθι πᾶν τὸ δρώμενον
ὅπως ἂν εἰδὼς ἡμιν ἀγγείλῃς σαφῆ. v. 41.

Surely the old gentleman must have been a very stupid old gentleman indeed, if, when he knew the facts (εἰδὼς), his capacity to repeat them to his friend was a matter involving any great contingency.

One other passage from the same play, and we have done with Sophocles. Orestes makes this very polite request of Ægisthus:

χώρει δ' ἔνθαπερ κατέκτανες
πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν ὡς ἂν ἐν ταύτῳ θάνῃς. v. 1495.

Now we humbly represent that if Ægisthus *did* go to the spot, the *very* spot (ἔνθαπερ) where he had slain Agamemnon, for the purpose of being slain himself thereon, it follows, without any doubt or dubitation whatsoever, that he *would* be in the same spot when Orestes commenced operations.

We cannot pass such a slight upon Euripides as altogether to omit his testimony. We will, therefore, instance two pas-

sages which at once occur to our recollection. When Eteocles declares—

ἀλλ' εἶμ' ὅπως ἂν μὴ καταργῶμεν χέρα· Phœn. v. 766.

it surely is not for a moment to be doubted but that increased activity will be produced by his departure. Nay, the result is virtually contained in the act: by starting on his mission he is, *ipso facto*, exerting himself.

Again, when Ulysses says to Hecuba—

οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ μήτε τοὺς φίλους
ἡγεῖσθε, μήτε τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας
θαυμάζεθ', ὡς ἂν ἡ μὲν Ἕλλας εὐτύχῃ· κ.τ.λ. v. 328.

he certainly does not contemplate the benefit to Greece as uncertain or contingent, but regards it as the natural and necessary result of such impolitic conduct on the part of the barbarians. Hence the remarkably friendly character of the recommendation.

We next come to Aristophanes, and naturally find the idiom perpetually recurring in that rich repository of familiar Atticisms.

To select an example or two from the large number before us. In the Acharnians, we find that the chorus of aged coal-heavers consider themselves much aggrieved by the bullying style of cross-examination which (strange to say!) some of the young Athenian barristers thought proper to adopt. Accordingly, they propose a scheme to free themselves from the annoyance:

ψηφίσασθε χωρὶς εἶναι τὰς γραφὰς ὅπως ἂν ᾖ
τῷ γέροντι μὲν γέρων καὶ νωδὸς ὁ ξυνήγορος,
τοῖς νέοισι δ' εὐρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος χὠ Κλεινίου. v. 670.

Surely the proposed separation of the courts, *at once* and *of necessity*, ensures to the indignant octogenarians the privilege for which they contend; that, viz. of being cross-examined by their peers. Grant the law reform for which they petition, and the result follows at once, without any contingency whatever.

Again, when the belligerent ladies are about to proceed to blows, they determine to get rid of all incumbrances:

θώμεσθα δὴ τὰς κάλπιδας χἠμεῖς χαμᾶζ' ὅπως ἂν
ἣν προσφέρῃ τὴν χεῖρά τις μὴ τοῦτο μ' ἐμποδίζῃ. Lysist. v. 333.

Now here we hold the necessity of the consequence to be quite undeniable. The pitchers *could* offer no obstacle to the ma-

nual activity of the lady combatants, for reasons quite as satisfactory as those which prevented the fair Tilburina from discerning the Spanish fleet:

> The Spanish fleet you cannot see
> Because 'tis not in sight!

The pitchers could not be in their hands, because they had previously put them *out* of their hands.

Once more. When that pattern of attentive husbands sends the shoemaker to his distressed spouse—

> Ὦ σκυτότομε τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς
> τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἔν πιέζει τὸ ζυγὸν,
> ἄθ' ἁπαλὸν ὄν· τοῦτ' οὖν συ τῆς μεσημβρίας
> ἔλθων χάλασον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρυτέρως ἔχῃ· Lysist. v. 392.

it would doubtless be very unreasonable to suppose that the man of leather could not remove the strap at any rate, however he might fail in the more dubious and difficult task of giving relief to the lady's toes.

And finally, Praxagora is sensible of the duties of office, and prepares to discharge them:

> ἐμὲ γὰρ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα δρᾶν, ἠρημένην
> ἄρχειν, καταστῆσαί τε τὰ ξυσσίτια
> ὅπως ἂν εὐωχῆσθε. Eccles. 716.

We may feel assured that it neither suits her policy nor her purpose to make the hopes of a banquet appear at all hypothetical.

It would be easy to multiply passages, but we believe those already given to be quite sufficient grounds for an induction. In the great majority of them, the interpretation assigned to ὡς and ὅπως ἄν by Dr. Arnold and the writers quoted by Göller, would be very feeble, if not quite unintelligible. We conclude, therefore, that the meaning suggested by Dr. Peile is the right one, and that in the passage quoted by Thucydides ὡς ἂν ξυντάξῃ must mean *to insure discipline*, &c. That this is the correct translation of the words in this place we should, even *à priori*, have been inclined to believe, from these considerations.

First. Alcibiades stood upon delicate ground. It was hard to obtain any assistance at all for Syracuse from the Lacedæmonians, or even to induce them to proceed against Athens. They were, as Thucydides says, μέλλοντες καὶ περιορώμενοι. Surely, therefore, it was the object of the or[illegible]nt

success, not as barely probable, but as certain; not that the mission of a Spartan *might*, but that it *must* do good.

Secondly. Alcibiades was under a cloud; he was afraid of the anger of the Spartans, ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν περὶ τῶν Μαντινικῶν πράξιν (VI. 88). It was necessary, therefore, as Aristotle points out, and as everybody knows, to conciliate his auditors. What flattery could be more delicate, or more likely to tell upon the very proud but not very acute Spartans, than such a compliment to their military merits? A Spartan general is all that is required to insure organization, discipline, and victory! We should have been surprised had Alcibiades omitted the opportunity of making such an excellent hit; much more surprised had that subtle Athenian been so wanting in tact as to counteract the effect of his own representations by unnecessarily suggesting doubts and difficulties.

The general conclusion, then, at which we arrive is this: ὡς ἄν and ὅπως ἄν are not to be translated, *that possibly, that peradventure*, but, *that so, that consequently;* or again, *as the means whereby, quò potissimum modo*, as Blomfield has it, *Agam.* 353: though, as Dr. Peile remarks, by his substitution of the past for the present participle, he has, in that particular case, destroyed the grounds upon which the interpretation rests.

So much for the *necessity* of the consequence denoted by ὡς and ὅπως ἄν. With respect to the other point, that, namely, the result thereby expressed may be independent of any expressed purpose, we wish to say a few words. And in the first place, so far as we can understand him, we believe we have the author of that very able and elegant performance the *Lexicon Æschyleum* on our side. He has, however, gone somewhat further, and stated the doctrine in terms which we cannot quite understand. Speaking of the passage to which we have already so often referred (*Agam.* 353), Mr. Linwood says ὅπως is used—"not denoting the purpose, in which case ἄν would not have been used, but the manner of the action," "*in such a manner that the arrow might strike.*" Now does he mean that *no* purpose is implied? If so, why did the father of gods and men bend his bow at all? Was he only indulging in what the Toxophilites call *flight-shooting*, and smote the unlucky Paris with a random arrow? Or does Mr. L. admit that a purpose *is* implied? If so, and it is not denoted by ὅπως, by what *is* it denoted? We confess that, even according to his own version,

the distinction is too subtle for us, and with the honest Wine-god we are inclined to exclaim,

Εὖ νὴ τὸν Ἑρμην, ὅτι λέγεις δ'οὐ μανθάνω.

If Mr. Linwood were seen directing a bow "*in such a manner that the arrow might strike*" a target, we conceive the bystanders would have strong ground for supposing that it *was* his purpose or intention to strike it. We admit, upon our own personal experience, that it is quite possible to have directed a bow in such a manner that the arrow *did* strike the target, and yet that, after all, the hit should be purely *per accidens*. But *this* meaning Mr. Linwood does not assign to the words, and if he did, we should not readily believe that father Jupiter's archery was as much a matter of chance as our own, or that ὅπως ἄν, &c. has *nothing* to do with purpose or intention in such passages as the following—ἐπιμέλονται ὡς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πόλιται. Xen. *Cyrop.* I. 2. 5. τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται, ὅπως ἂν θηρῷεν. Ib. 10. βουλευσόμεθα ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα ἀγωνιζοίμεθα. Or again, ταῦτα περὶ ἑωϋτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες . . . λυπεοιάτο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν. Herod. I. 99, where clearly τῶνδε εἵνεκεν declares that there was a purpose, and ὅκως ἄν is used to describe what it was.

Though, however, we dissent from the position—"If ὅπως denoted the purpose ἄν would not be used," we readily agree with Mr. Linwood if he means to assert only that ὅπως ἄν denotes a consequence independently of a purpose; a result without necessarily implying any previous intention to produce that result. All that we contend for is, that the notion of ὅπως ἄν is generic, and may coincide, to a certain extent, with the common notion of ὡς and ὅπως, simply followed by the subjunctive and optative. And it is of importance to lay down the principle, that the *primary* and *essential* idea involved in the expression is that of a *consequence necessarily resulting;* while the other idea, that of *a purpose fulfilled*, is in logical language only an *accidental* one. This we take to be the true account of the matter, and what is meant by the learned editor of the Agamemnon, when he subjoins to his assertion that ὅπως ἄν denotes a *necessary consequence*, the words "*apart from, and, it may be, independent of, any formal and premeditated purpose.*" Now to recur for a moment to a point already noticed; the identity of meaning said to subsist between ὅς and ὥς ἄν. This we think contains the *rationale* of the whole

matter. Do not ὅπως, ὡς, ὅς, οἷος ἄν, all follow the same analogy, and resemble the Latin *Qui causam significans*, as it used to be called? *Causam significans* is to be sure somewhat obscure, but the construction seems to include all cases where the relative is used to denote *the condition under which*, or the *result in reference to which*, any thing is predicated. For instance, "Stultus es *qui* huic credas," "You are a fool *for that* you believe this." "*Missus est qui diceret*," "He was sent *so that* he might tell;" the relative in both cases denoting the necessary consequence of the preceding verb. Similar, we contend, is the usage of the words of which we treat. Let us, however, examine whether the principle will solve certain difficulties which appear to have marvellously perplexed editors and commentators. First, then, to notice the passage quoted in a foot note by the editor of the Agamemnon. The text of Æsch. *Supplices*, v. 606, stands thus:

> ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν οὐ διχορρόπως
> ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἡβήσαιμι γηραιᾷ φρενί.

Here Tyrwhitt, not knowing exactly what to make of our friends ὡς ἄν, conjectures ὡς ἀνηβῆσαί με, and Scholefield adopts his "levis correctio." "*Levis*" certainly, for surely the explanation given in the note we have quoted is the correct one. "*So as for me to feel young in my old heart.*" "*In a way that bids fair to make a young man of me.*" Ὡς ἄν, therefore, in this place, agreeably to our theory, is only to be translated in its proper and natural acceptation, "*so as for me to*"—"*so that I could*," and denotes the virtual consequence of the Argive decree. Tyrwhitt and the Greek professor only seem to have travelled out of the direct path in order to arrive at the same terminus, for the sense of their emendation is nearly identical with that which we have assigned to the unmutilated text. But to proceed to Sophocles. The old reading of Trachineæ, v. 672, is,

> τοιοῦτον ἐκβέβηκεν, οἷον ἂν φράσω,
> γυναῖκες, ὑμῖν θαῦμ' ἀνέλπιστον μαθεῖν.

Here, again, the offending words appear to have caused much confusion. Hermann reads ἦν, which we conceive involves a tautology of ideas. One of the latest editors (Wunder) prints ἂν φράσαι, from his own conjecture. Even Dindorf adopts Hermann's emendation. Why, however, may not the words

be taken in a sense exactly analogous to that already assigned to ὅς ἄν? "*so as for me to announce*"—"*so that I can*, or have to announce." The virtual consequence of what had occurred was, that Deianeira had a very surprising piece of intelligence to communicate.

To test our theory by all three tragedians, let us quote a passage from Euripides, which seems also to have perplexed the editors, and Elmsley among the rest.

> εἰθ' ὦ βραχίων, σύμμαχος γένοίο μοι
> τοιοῦτος, οἷος ἂν τροπὴν Εὐρυσθέως
> θείην. Eurip. *Heraclid.* 743.

The meaning here seems obviously to be, "Would that my arm might become such, *as that I might* put Eurystheus to the rout." The virtual consequence of such a metamorphosis as that for which he prayed, would be the defeat of Eurystheus by his hand. In all these cases the meaning assigned to the words ὡς, ὅς, οἷος ἄν, offers a ready and, we think, satisfactory solution of the difficulties of the passage. This is the more remarkable, as it appears that distinguished scholars have been compelled to resort to the "ultima ratio" of conjectural emendation in order to effect the same result.

It must remain for abler hands to test the principle by a larger and more accurate induction; so far as we have ourselves been enabled to examine, it holds good in each particular where it has been applied. For instance, the oblique cases of the relative with ἄν are included under the rule. Accordingly we find in Plato, Βούλει οὖν σοι κατὰ Γοργίαν ἀποκρίνωμαι, ᾗ ἄν συ μάλιστα ἀκολουθήσαις (Menon. p. 46, Ed. Slalbaum); where ᾗ ἄν will, if our view be correct, mean "*in such a way, or, so as that you could follow*," and denotes the necessary consequence τοῦ ἀποκρίνεσθαι κατὰ Γοργίαν.

There is a passage of some difficulty in the Seventh Book of Thucydides to which, before discussing the subject, we wish to refer, because we fancy some light is thrown upon it by the method of interpreting ὅπως ἄν maintained in the preceding remarks. The case is not exactly identical with those which we have cited, still it comes under the general principle. Nicias, when on the point of quitting Syracuse, is alarmed by an eclipse of the moon; καὶ οὐδ' ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἔφη, πρίν, ὡς [illegible] ἐξηγοῦντο, τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μεῖναι, ὅπως ἂν πρότερ

(VII. 50). Does not this mean that Nicias refuses even to take the matter into consideration; to do that which was the very first step, and the *necessary preliminary* to their starting from Sicily? Ὅπως ἄν will, therefore, be employed (as we stated when citing the analogous usage in Latin) to denote that the *former* verb (in this case διαβουλεύσασθαι) is a *necessary antecedent condition* of the second (here κινηθείη). Compare Plautus: "Adjuta me quò id fiat facilius."

It only remains to notice the difference in meaning arising from the variation between the *subjunctive* and the *optative* in the consequent clause. This is certainly in accordance with the essential notion proper to those moods severally. No one has determined and explained their relative power with greater clearness and philosophical precision than Kühner. His account of them is this (p. 68, the Oxford translation): "The *conjunctive expresses a present or future supposition founded on present existing circumstances; the optative a past supposition founded on past circumstances.*" Consequently, as the former is more immediately present to the mind, it denotes a nearer approximation to reality than the latter; it indicates the *probable,* while the optative has to do with the *possible.* Εἰ τοῦτο λεγοίς, "if you were to say this," considering it only as *possible;* ἐὰν τοῦτο λέγῃς, considering it as probable that you will say it. When therefore they occur in the consequent clause, constructed with the common ὅπως, &c., or otherwise, the subjunctive naturally looks to the realization of the end proposed, regarding it as probable; while, on the other hand, the optative does not contain any such notion, but represents the result as a mere possibility. Sometimes even it only expresses some ulterior consequence of the subjunctive. (Vide Kühner, § 809.) This is illustrated by the well-known passage of the Hecuba:

> ἔδεισα μὴ σοι πολέμιος λειφθεὶς ὁ παῖς
> Τροίαν ἀθροίσῃ καὶ ξυνοικίσῃ πάλιν
> γνόντες δ' Ἀχαιοὶ ζῶντα Πριαμιδῶν τινα
> Φρυγῶν ἐς αἶαν αὖθις ἄρειαν στόλον,
> κἄπειτα Θρῄκης πεδία τρίβοιεν τάδε. Hec. v. 1138.

"Alterum, Troja ne restitueretur, verebatur ne eveniret; de altero conjecturam faciebat, haud esse dissimile veri, Achivos redituros." Pflugk *ad loc.*

Such being the force of each mood in the common construc-

tion with ὅπως, &c., we naturally look for something analogous in that with ὅπως ἄν. And so it is. The addition of ἄν suggests, according to our theory, the necessity of the consequence: but then the subjunctive contemplates *some actual definite case,* the optative is *indefinite, and speculates upon the general result.* Or, as it is expressed by the learned editor from whom we have derived the theory—"When followed by ἄν they denote a virtual consequence either of tendency or ability:—1. With the subjunctive in a definite actual case. 2. With the optative in a case merely contemplated as probable or possible." This he illustrates by a passage already quoted. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* I. 2. 60. ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως ἂν θηρῷεν—provides not for their hunting upon any particular occasion, that would be ὅπως ἂν θήρῳσι; but in the formation of character, *for their being hunters,* or *fond of hunting.* See also *Ibid.* § 5.

There is one phenomenon in connection with this idiom which is somewhat peculiar. We mean the fact that ἵνα, in the sense of *that,* does not occur thus united with ἄν—"Ινα quoties *ut* significat nusquam apud Græcos cum ἄν jungitur. Dœd. ad. *Œdip. Col.* 189."—"Solus horum verum vidit Dœderlinus." *Elmsley.* And this decision Ellendt confirms. "Ἵνα cum voce ἄν sic non construitur." We are aware that this is controverted, and remember the passage quoted from Demosthenes: ἵνα μηδ' ἂν ἄκων αὐτῇ πότε προσπέσῃ, p. 780. 7. "Sed Demosthenem non moramur," as Wellauer says of the Greek professor at Cambridge; not because we desire to imitate the modesty of that courteous commentator, but in part because we are not sure whether something might not be said in explanation, and in part because we do not believe an isolated passage in a late writer to be sufficient grounds for questioning the universal Attic usage. However, we only mention the fact, because long ago, before the peculiarities of ὅπως ἄν had affected our peace of mind, the idea occurred to us that somehow or other ἵνα must contain ἄν. If the conjecture be correct, the reason for the peculiarity noticed above will be obvious enough.

That εἰ and ἥν are the oblique cases of the relative pronoun, and differ in signification according to the analogy of the dative and accusative, we long ago believed, and our opinion is confirmed by a letter from Mr. Kenrick published in the third volume of Arnold's Thucydides. Whether ἵνα may have any connection with the Sanscrit *i-m,* the old Greek pronominal

form ἴ or ἰ (vide *New Cratylus*, p. 173; and Thiersch. *Gr. Gr.*), and the Latin *is*, must be determined by those who are more skilled than ourselves in the comparative anatomy of the great Indo-Germanic family of languages.

J. G. S.

XXIII.

WAS DANCING AN ELEMENT OF THE GREEK CHORUS?

THIS question has the air of a paradox. Dancing is so universally affirmed to have been one of the elements of the Greek drama, that to venture on such a question is to be answered with uplifted eyebrows, or a dogmatic "psha." Nevertheless, I venture. I venture also to answer the question with a negative; and in the following pages will undertake to substantiate my opinion, and will endeavour to prove that there was no dancing whatever in the Greek tragic chorus.

No one hitherto having thrown a doubt on the existence of the dancing, we cannot say that the question has been examined. One writer has copied from another; one man has believed what another believed. We cannot say that many intellects have been sedulously employed in sifting the fact; only that many pens have sedulously registered it. The fact has not been investigated, because it has not been questioned. I believe I am the first who ever questioned it, consequently who ever investigated it.

This will shield me from the charge of presumption. There is, however, another charge almost as offensive against which I must guard myself; the charge, namely, that I have conjured up a spirit in order to exorcise it—that I am about to destroy a chimera of my own.

Does any sane man believe in the dancing? The question is not idle. Very many persons to whom I communicated my view at once declared they had never believed in the existence of the dancing; one declared that *no one* had ever believed in it. The truth being that the notion of the dancing is so con-

trary to all our notions of tragedy, that those people are sincere when saying they never *believed* in it: they *assented* to it. I am bound, however, to produce some evidence of the universality of such assent. Without referring to the innumerable German works, I will content myself with two unequivocal passages from an unexceptionable authority. They are from the second volume of the *Museum Criticum;* they were written by Bishop Blomfield; thus they run:—

"They (the chorus) performed regular dances, accommodated, as it should seem, to the measure of the verses which they sang. . . . . They seem to have danced one way while singing the strophe, and another during the antistrophe, and to have stood still, or to have performed the evolution which dancing-masters call *pousser* during the epode."

"We may briefly observe that the dancing seems not to have conveyed to an Athenian audience any ludicrous ideas. To us it would be very strange to see a party of venerable old men figuring up and down the stage, and all the while bewailing in passionate exclamations some public calamity."

Nothing can be more explicit. Had the learned author desired it, he might have propped up these passages with whole pages of reference. Few subjects connected with the chorus have so many "proofs." These proofs want neither antiquity, distinctness, nor the *prestige* of having been accepted by learned men. They only want one thing; they want authenticity.

Let us cite one. Athenæus says, "There are three dances in scenic poetry—the tragic, the comic, and the satyric: *τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶ τῆς σκηνικῆς ποιήσεως ὀρχήσεις, τραγική, κωμική, σατυρική* (XIV. 630. d.). Positive as this seems, it will presently be shewn to have no weight. Meanwhile, the question as to assent to the existence of dancing is fully answered.

If we reflect on the unmeaning and inappropriate office which dancing must have had in a tragedy, we may be tempted to question, on purely artistic grounds, the fact of its existence. Its presence in the Dionysiac festival, accompanying the dithyramb, is intelligible enough. All nations, even the red Indians, have had religious dances; but the drama, at the time Æschylus wrote, had lost its religious character—the legends had no longer reference to Bacchus—the drama was no longer a dithyramb. A new theatre, new dresses, new legends, new characters, had gradually supplanted the legends, dresses, characters,

orgies, and buffooneries, of the Bacchic rout. No one seems to have been sufficiently aware of this. Yet in this change lies the secret of much that is obscure to those who overlook it. In the time of Æschylus, a transformation had taken place of the dithyrambic chorus into a drama very similar to that which, from the mysteries and moralities of England, produced the drama of Marlowe and Shakspeare. Aristotle indicates the fact of transformation, but not the phases: *πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβολοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν.* (*Poet.* 4.) Students of the Greek drama's rise and progress should set themselves to discover what these various phases were. Enough for the present that the transformation was complete.

In the course of these changes, dancing was displaced from tragedy. The dancing was an element of the Dionysiac worship, and of the satyric chorus. When the drama became no longer a dithyramb to Bacchus, when the chorus ceased to be composed of satyrs, then did dancing cease to find a place in tragedy. The dancing befitted a Bacchic rout, but what propriety would it have in a chorus composed of venerable senators and grave citizens? The chorus of Agamemnon is composed of men too old to follow the army to Troy, so feeble, that they described themselves as, childlike, forced to lean on staves: *ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις.* From what we know of the drama, we are entitled to assume that these words indicate the use of the staff as an absolute fact. With these staves in their hands, their bodies bent with age, it is difficult to conceive the chorus dancing. Of no use is it to reply, 'The dance was slow and solemn.' Slow it must have been, if old men danced; but solemn?

I insist on this inappropriateness; the plea that dancing was an element of the tragic chorus *because* it was an element of the Dionysiac satyric chorus, is a confusion of ideas. On the same ground it might be argued that tragedy also preserved the obscene jests and fantastic attitudes of the satyric chorus. No one believes that these were retained in tragedy, why then believe that tragedy retained the dancing? It is only less incompatible than they are.

The dithyramb, in the course of time, gave birth to three distinct species of entertainment: tragedy, comedy, and the satyric play. The last was invented to satisfy the demands of the audiences, who were offended at seeing tragedy departing from the old route, and representing a capture of Miletus in-

stead of a Bacchic legend. The audience wished for their Bacchic legends, and, above all, for the jests and dances of the Bacchic chorus. Phrynichus therefore invented the satyric play, in which these desired elements were preserved; this play being represented after the tragedy, had the effect of a modern farce, to please the gods, after Shakspeare.

Tragedy, thus definitively separated from the Bacchic chorus, had no occasion to preserve any attribute of that chorus which might interfere with its means and purpose. Æschylus banished dancing, as he banished some other things, to the satyric play. And this I take to be the meaning of Aristotle's saying, that Æschylus "diminished the attributes or functions of the chorus:" τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἠλάττωσε[1], usually understood to mean, that Æschylus merely made the choral part of the drama less, and the dialogue more.

At this point I shall probably be reminded, that Æschylus 'is said to have invented many new dances, and to have instructed the dancers himself, instead of employing a chorodidaskalos.' I am aware that this is said; but by whom? by Athenæus. To refuse acceptance of his authority, to pronounce it in the highest degree a questionable authority, will perhaps surprise my readers; let me, therefore, recal a bit of literary history perfectly familiar to all.

Shakspeare, "when tired of stealing deer, to London came," and there for some time earned a precarious livelihood as a linkboy at the theatre, holding the horses of gentlemen, while they witnessed the play. Even as a linkboy his genius was resplendent. Pitch, which defileth ordinary men, was only the dark background on which Shakspeare's native brightness became conspicuous. No other boy could hold a horse in the same style. His genius in that line became proverbial. He is not more indubitably the first of dramatists than he was then the greatest of linkboys.

And pray who is the authority for this pretty anecdote, so circumstantially stated? Mr. Rowe.

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[1] This is often falsely translated, 'he shortened the chorus.' Batteux says, 'il abrégea le chœur.' Heinsius, 'chorica contraxit;' which bears out my version, as also that by Don Alonzo Ordonez 'y disminuyó las cosas que pertenecian al coro.'

This is one of the many passages of Aristotle in which literal fidelity is of importance. A great benefit would be conferred on literature by an exact translation of the *Poetics*.

The critics of our day would laugh with "inextinguishable laughter," if any one ventured to cite such a story on such an authority. Nevertheless, both story and authority were implicitly received for many years, and may, at the present time, be found gravely repeated in France, Spain, and Italy. Now I venture to assert, that Rowe's authority, on any point connected with Shakspeare, has fifty-fold the weight of that of Athenæus on any point connected with Æschylus. Rowe was born only sixty-seven years after the death of Shakspeare, while the distance between Æschylus and Athenæus is upwards of seven hundred years[2]. The statement of a contemporary respecting any event in a man's life is not conclusive evidence; the statement of a man writing upwards of sixty years after the supposed event is of course still less conclusive; but what sort of evidence is that furnished by a man writing upwards of seven centuries after the event?

To be sure, Athenæus wrote in Greek, and there is a large class of persons who implicitly believe any assertion made in Greek; they belong to the class of those who always believe what they see in the newspapers; "*pour eux*," as Cormenin says, "*ce qui est écrit est écrit; et ce qui est écrit demeure.*"

For my part, I am inclined to place the story of Æschylus being his own chorodidaskalos on the same shelf as Shakspeare's career as a linkboy. I have no evidence of the truth of the story; considerable evidence against it. Believing that the chorus did not dance, I of course disbelieve the story of Æschylus having invented dances. As this can scarcely be satisfactory reasoning to the reader, I will advance two other objections.

1st. Athenæus merely says, that Æschylus invented new dances, and taught them himself to the chorus. This may be very true, yet not affect my position, that there was no such thing as dancing *in tragedy*. Æschylus wrote satyr-plays; there was dancing in satyr-plays, and for these he might have invented dances.

2nd. The words used by Athenæus may be interpreted somewhat differently. Here they are: πολλὰ σχήματα ὀρχηστικὰ αὐτὸς ἐξευρίσκων ἀνεδίδου τοῖς χορευταῖς (I. 21). Should they

[2] Æschylus born B.C. 525. Athenæus lived about the middle of the third century of our era.

not be translated "inventing many new *orchestral gestures*, and he taught them to the chorus"? σχήματα ὀρχηστίκα may better be supposed to mean orchestral gestures (*i. e.* attitudes and gestures for the chorus) than dances. Because σχῆμα is not the word for dance; it does indeed, in some few instances, stand for dance, but the ordinary meaning is gesture or attitude. So also Plutarch explicitly tells us. Dancing he divides into three parts: φορά, σχῆμα, and δεῖξις. The first is the motion by which some action or passion is imitated. The second, σχῆμα, is the attitude into which the dancer throws himself. The third is the designation of particular things, such as earth, heaven, &c.[3] To this must be added the passage from Aristotle speaking of the orchestic arts: διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥύθμων μιμοῦνται καὶ ἤθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις. The rhythmical gestures which could express character and passion were certainly not what we mean by dancing, but dramatic gesticulation.

If this translation of Athenæus be admitted, we may admit his statement. Æschylus having introduced new gestures and attitudes,—*i. e.* having, in the place of dancing, invented dramatic gesticulation—of course required to teach the chorus himself. Macready, when manager of Covent Garden, electrified his audiences with the effective and artistic attitudes into which he had drilled his choruses to group themselves. So might Æschylus have drilled his chorus.

I return, therefore, to my position, that dancing had no place in tragedy, but was in some measure replaced by gesticulation and attitudes of an artistic kind, differing from the gesticulation of performers in being more free, more varied, more passionate, and in being the expression of an assemblage of men rather than of individuals. The dancing was only appropriate to the dithyrambic chorus, and tragedy had long ceased to be a dithyrambic chorus—ceased to be so, not only in its outward form, but in its inward meaning; not only in its ceremonies, but in its object. A slight glance at the nature of the plays of Æschylus will convince any one of this. A passage from Aristotle will also expressly prove it. He gives us a formal definition of tragedy, that it is μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου

[3] *Sympos.* 15. *sub fin.*

περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν; which Twining renders, "Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is important, entire, and of a proper magnitude; by language embellished and rendered pleasurable, but by different means in different parts, in the way not of narration but of action—effecting, through pity and terror, the correction and refinement of such passions." I believe that no one has hitherto remarked one peculiar meaning of this passage, viz. that tragedy was not religious, but moral. With moderns a religious aim is a moral aim; not so with the Greeks. Religion and morality were two distinct things; their deities were very rarely moral powers; when, therefore, Aristotle points out the moral aim of tragedy in the purification of the passions, and is completely silent on the supposed religious aim, saying nothing whatever about Bacchus or any other deity, we are entitled to conclude that tragedy had no such religious aim. Our former analogy of the English and Greek drama also assists us here. Critics defining the drama of Shakspeare, insist upon the 'moral instruction' it conveys; the stage is constantly spoken of as 'a lay pulpit.' No one calls the drama religious. The drama was originally, however, strictly religious; the miracle-plays were as religious as the Dionysiac chorus. At this epoch, when men wrote about it, they very naturally wrote of it as religious. I remember a passage pat to my purpose. Fitzstevens, writing in the time of Henry II., says of these miracle-plays: "Londinia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum, quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repræsentationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum[4]." It seems incontestable that Aristotle's definition, thus illustrated, completely refutes any idea of tragedy being religious; if the subjects of plays, such as the *Persians* and the *Capture of Miletus*, did not suffice.

I think that the foregoing remarks have established one part of my theory, which may be expressed in the following proposition: Dancing was an element of the Bacchic chorus; but the tragic chorus, although it grew up out of the Bacchic, was in the time of Æschylus very different both in means and purpose; and therefore dancing, no longer a necessary element of the tragic chorus, was banished from it.

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[4] Quoted in Dodsley's *Old* Plays, Vol. I. p. 157.

Up to this point I have merely been reasoning from analogy. I have now to examine evidence; this evidence is of two kinds, —1st, that furnished by the plays themselves; 2nd, that furnished by the statements of critics, grammarians, and historians. I shall examine the *second* first, because it is the least weighty.

All contemporaneous authority on the Greek drama is wanting. Aristotle's *Poetics* is the nearest approach to any thing of the kind, and is indeed an invaluable source of information. It is principally occupied about tragedy; describes its origin and progress; defines its scope and object; and traces, with circumstantial minuteness, all the necessary elements. In this work Aristotle says nothing whatever of dancing as an element of tragedy. He enumerates and separates things so closely allied as rhythm, melody, and metre; he speaks of the decoration; he speaks of the singing; but he says nothing of dancing. This is only negative evidence, if you will; but it has the force of positive evidence, coming from such a source. Consider: he who in this work passes over nothing of the slightest importance,—who pauses to make distinctions between sentiments and diction, between metre and rhythm,—is supposed to pass over the dancing; and this dancing was a matter of so much importance, we are told, that the poet invented new figures and taught the chorus himself. Aristotle, who lays stress upon the decoration, (ὄψις), to make no mention of dancing! He speaks indeed of the orchestic arts, in the passage I have already quoted, *διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥύθμων μιμοῦνται καὶ ἤθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις* (*Poet.* I. 3), but says nothing of dancing *in tragedy*. Yet there are places in which it seems incredible that he should have passed it over in silence, if it had really formed a portion of tragedy. For instance, he says[5], "As tragedy imitates by *acting*, the *decoration* must necessarily be one of its first parts; then the *melopœia* and the *diction*; for *these include the means of tragic imitation*." No mention of dancing here.

It is just possible, however, that some defender of the dancing may declare that it is implied by Aristotle in the word ὄψις: decoration, spectacle. Being a portion of the 'actors' business,' it may have been included in the general term ὄψις.

[5] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πράττοντες ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τι μόριον τραγῳδίας ὁ τῆς ὄψεως κόσμος· εἶτα μελοποιΐα καὶ λέξις· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν. (VI. 4.)

This objection may be answered in two ways. The dancing was as special as the singing, and demanded as special an indication; yet Aristotle frequently mentions the singing, but not the dancing. Moreover, he has expressly informed us what he means by ὄψις. "The decoration," he says, "has also great effect, but of all parts is most foreign to the art. For the power of tragedy is felt without representation and actors, so that the effect of the decoration depends *more on the art of the architect than of the poet.*" (VI. 10.) Now until it can be proved that dancing was the province of the architect, we must pronounce that ὄψις implies simply what moderns call the 'getting up.'

Aristotle, in this passage, sums up his various remarks on tragedy: "Hence all tragedy must necessarily contain six parts, which together *constitute its peculiar character or quality* (*κάθ' ἃ ποία τις ἐστὶν ἡ τραγῳδία*): fable, manners, diction, sentiments, decoration, and music. Of these parts, two relate to the means, one to the manner, and three to the object of imitation; and these are all." Not a word of the dancing.

This silence requires explanation. I maintain that it implies the absence of the thing not mentioned; those who maintain the contrary must bring very strong reasons for the silence. But does this silence prove too much? Are we to conclude from it that dancing was so evident as to need no mention; and that, on the contrary, had Æschylus banished it from tragedy, Aristotle would have mentioned the fact?

No; the fact of any thing being too evident for mention is questionable in such a work: was not the singing evident, was not the diction evident, was not the ὄψις evident? All his readers knew the existence of these as well as he,—yet he mentions them. As to the necessity of some mention of Æschylus having banished the dancing from tragedy, I answer, does Aristotle mention the Phallos, the obscene jests and riotous buffooneries of the Bacchic chorus, as having been banished from tragedy? Only in a general way. He says, "Tragedy underwent many changes," and that Æschylus "made the functions of the chorus fewer;" in these general indications I assume that he included the dancing.

But there is one passage which throws a faint light on this subject. Aristotle, speaking of the rise of tragedy, says it was late before it threw aside the short and simple fable and

ludicrous language of its satyric origin, and attained its proper magnitude and dignity. The *iambic* measure was then first adopted; for originally the *trochaic tetrameter* was made use of, as *better suited to the satyric and saltatorial genius of the poem at that time:* *διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν* (IV. 6)." It is clear to me that he here alludes to the dancing nature of the satyric play and the non-dancing nature of tragedy.

The evidence next to be examined is that of Athenæus, Lucian, Pollux, and the scholiasts. I need enter into no particulars, because I here protest against such writers being accepted as authorities. They have long been regarded as such, but upon insufficient grounds. When what they say is borne out by other evidence, by the plays, or by the testimony of Aristotle, it may be credited; otherwise it has very little weight. I address myself here to historical students, to those trained in the principle of historical science; and I ask, whether, upon any rational system of sifting evidence, Athenæus and Lucian can be reckoned as authorities on the Greek drama; *i.e.* as men whose testimony carries conviction, whose assertions amount to positive evidence? I am confident no historical student would reply in the affirmative. My grounds for refusing to accept their evidence as conclusive are (independently of the contradiction of this evidence by the plays themselves) somewhat to the following effect:—

1st. Athenæus, Lucian, and the scholiasts lived many centuries after the Greek drama, such as we possess, was written and performed.

2nd. The drama had long ceased to be performed. The dramatic entertainments having merged into pantomime and ballet. Consequently, there was no uninterrupted tradition such as exists in the modern drama.

3rd. The blunders of the scholiasts have been often proved to have arisen from a confusion of things relating to two different epochs of the drama; which may be illustrated by supposing a modern writer to assume that in Shakspeare's day actors wore the correct costume because they do so now. One of the scholiasts' blunders is mistaking the meaning of the prologue, parados, episode, and exodos, which they explain *etymologically*. Thus Aristotle (c. XII.) tells us that the 'prologue is all that part of a tragedy which precedes the parados of the chorus;'

and the 'parados' he defines 'as the first speech of the whole chorus.' The first scene of the *Prometheus*, in which the Titan is bound to the rock by violence and power, is therefore a prologue: the parados is the first song of the Oceanides. Now it is notorious that the scholiasts meant by the prologue precisely what the Romans and what the moderns mean by it. "Both explanations," as Geppert remarks, "are manifestly taken from two different epochs of the drama: Aristotle is drawn from the works of the Greek dramatists, the scholiasts principally from those of the Roman dramatists"[6].

4th. Although these writers are supposed always to speak on the authority of some more ancient authors, yet the date of the latter not being given, we have no means of ascertaining their credibility. Collier, for example, might have relied upon Steevens; he would have done so had he not been more critical and inquiring than a scholiast, had he not also possessed documents anterior to Steevens. But for the sake of an illustration let us suppose Collier stating a fact on the authority of Steevens, who was a writer nearer than Collier to the age of Shakspeare; would Collier's statement be an authority? clearly not. Authority can only be obtained by contemporary documents, or by a writer who can shew an uninterrupted tradition from the original period to his own. Neither of these conditions are fulfilled by the grammarians, with respect to the Greek drama.

5th. Independently of the great distance of time, which of itself destroys confidence in the statements of the grammarians, there is also to be considered the great want of critical acumen displayed by these writers. Not to dwell on acknowledged blunders, let me only point to the want of that scrupulous testing and examination of the authorities they quote. Athenæus is said to have quoted upwards of *seven hundred authors*, and to have named *two thousand five hundred works*. He tells us himself, that he had read *eight hundred plays* of the middle comedy. Such rapacious readers are not critical readers; accordingly his work is more amusing than exact. Many of the authors he quotes are otherwise unknown—their names mentioned by him only. How then are we to put faith in what they say—we, who demand a distinct account of the era,

[6] Geppert, *Alt-Griechische Bühne*, p. 215.

character, motives and occupation of every writer whom we trust? If modern historical science demands that we should reject the direct and positive testimony of Livy, who had good documents at his disposal—telling us that he judged of ancient usages according to modern usages, and that we must therefore refuse to accept his statements as final—if modern science demands this with respect to Livy, shall it not still more cogently demand it with respect to the ancient grammarians?

I will give one specimen of apparently very positive testimony, quoted by Athenæus, 'probably,' says Mr. Donaldson, 'from some author of weight.' What is the probability? The passage I have already cited, but will give it again. "There are three dances in scenic poetry, the tragic, the comic, and the satyric." Observe, he says *there are*, not *there were:* but to *what period* of the seven centuries between Æschylus and Athenæus does this refer? *Who* says there are three dances? is it Aristotle, Plato? No; some author of whom we know nothing; some author, 'probably of weight,' whom Athenæus had perused. But to make this assertion of the least value, we must know absolutely the era in which the unknown author wrote. He says, '*there are* three dances.' Our question is—when were there three dances; were they in the time of Æchylus? Athenæus does not inform us. I therefore reject the evidence of the passage as worthless. It merely proves that there were at some time three different species of dancing on the stage. But Lucian's dialogue, περὶ ὀρχήσεως, has made us acquainted with that, as well as with the nature of the dramatic entertainments which he describes with such gusto: these were not the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles.

Upon these and other grounds, therefore, I protest against the authority of the grammarians being considered as indisputable. It is not wilfully to be disputed, but it is disputable; it holds good as long as no better authority can be adduced to disprove it, but it is open to question.

But I do not build my rejection of the authority of grammarians on the present point solely on the foregoing reasons. On the contrary, I am prepared to meet the scholar who accepts the authority of Athenæus; and am prepared to maintain that if such authority be unimpeachable, the usual interpretation is open to question. I am persuaded that it is erro[illegible] many passages, to translate ὀρχεῖσθαι into d[illegible]

II.

Donaldson says that 'it is used to signify *acting in general*'[7]. Perhaps '*gesticulation*' would be the more accurate term; it is at any rate the term I want. Perfectly aware that ὀρχεῖσθαι is sometimes used in the sense of dancing, and that Homer in the description of the shield of Achilles so employs it, I still think there is ground for asserting that 'gesticulation' is the more accurate term, because the more general: gesticulation embraces every species of dancing and pantomime; so does ὀρχεῖσθαι.

In this general sense it is used by Lucian περὶ ὀρχήσεως; one passage will prove this, if the whole treatise did not prove it. 'The main business and aim of dancing is, as I said, the representation of a sentiment, passion, or action, by gestures that are the natural signs of it; *an art which is practised too in their way by the orators, particularly in what they call their declamations*'[8].

I must request attention to the foregoing passage. No one supposes that Demosthenes, when he recommended action as the greatest quality of an orator, meant that the orator was to dance. He clearly spoke of the gesticulation here spoken of by Lucian under the title of ὄρχησις. The conclusion then is evident, that if the gesticulation of oratory can be spoken of as ὄρχησις, without in the least implying dancing, so in a much closer sense can the gesticulation of acting be spoken of as ὄρχησις.

Let us examine briefly the use of the word by the ancients. "The terms ὄρχησις and saltatio," says the author of the article 'Dancing,' in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, "were used in so much wider a sense than our word dancing, that they were employed to designate gestures even when the body did not move. (Ovid. *Art. Am.* I. 595; II. 305. *Saltare solis oculis.* Apul. *Met.* X. p. 251)."

Now it is certainly worthy of attention, that in the three tragic poets the word ὀρχεῖσθαι is used for dancing in a metaphorical sense, *e.g.*

> ὀρχεῖται δὲ καρδία φόβῳ (*Choëph.* 165).
> καρδία . . . ὑπορχεῖσθαι κότῳ (*ibid.* 1123).
> ἐκ τῶν ἀέλπτων μᾶλλον ὤρχησε φρένας (*Ion*).

only *once* by each of the poets is it employed in the absolute

[7] *Theatre of the Greeks*, p. 41.

[8] Tooke's *Trans. of Lucian*, p. 246.

sense. By Æschylus (*Eumen.* 854, a questionable passage); by Sophocles (*Ajax.* 700, ὀρχήματα); and by Euripides (*Cyclop.* 170, ὀρχήστυς).

Only three times, therefore, in all the plays of the three tragedians does ὀρχεῖσθαι signify dancing. When these writers wish to express dancing they use the proper word χορεύειν; as in the following examples:—

Agam. 31. αὐτός τ' ἔγωγε φροίμιον χορεύσομαι.
Ajax, 702. νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι.
Antig. 147. ναοὺς χοροῖς παννυχίοις πάντας ἐπέλθωμεν.
„ 1097. χορεύουσι τὸν ταμίαν Ἴακχον.
Œdip. Tyr. 896. τὶ δεῖ με χορεύειν.
„ 1093. καὶ χορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν.
Cyclops, 156. χορεῦσαι παρακαλεῖ μ' ὁ Βάκχος.
Bacchæ, 114. γᾶ πᾶσα χορεῦσαι.
„ 132. εἰς δὲ χορεύματα σύνηχαν.
Herc. Fur. 686. Μούσας ἃι μ' ἐχόρευσαν.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples. The fact I have been endeavouring to elicit is, that although the general term ὀρχεῖσθαι is sometimes used in its specific sense of dancing, yet that it does not necessarily mean dancing, is not the ordinary word for dancing, cannot, therefore, except when the context demands it, be interpreted by dancing.

Looking at the evidence of the grammarians in this light, we shall find that little or nothing can be concluded from it in favour of the chorus having danced. For instance, Athenæus quotes Aristocles to the effect that "Telestes Æschylus' *dancer* was so accomplished in his art, that in *dancing* the Seven against Thebes, he made the whole play intelligible by his *dancing*." This is the absurd yet usual interpretation of Τελέστης ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὀρχηστὴς οὕτως ἦν τεχνίτης ὥστε ἐν τῷ ὀρχεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας φανερὰ ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα δι' ὀρχήσεως (I. p. 21 f.). Either this passage is worthless, or it proves one of two things: 1st, that pantomimic ballet was a species of dramatic entertainment in existence as early as Æschylus, who himself arranged his Seven against Thebes for the purpose; or 2ndly, that ὀρχεῖσθαι is falsely translated 'dancing.' The first supposition is purely gratuitous; no one has ever maintained it. On the second, therefore, falls the weight of the passage; ὀρχεῖσθαι did *not* mean dancing, but *acting*. If, therefore, in this passage it is erroneous to interpret dancing, it will be

erroneous to do so in others. Here is a second, in which it would be so: Athenæus, shortly before quoting the foregoing passage, said of Telestes, the dancing-master, that he invented so many new figures, *that with his hands* he rendered what he spoke intelligible: Τελέστης ὁ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος πολλὰ ἐξεύρηκε σχήματα ἄκρως ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ λεγόμενα δεικνυούσαις (*ibid.*). It is evident from the mention of the hands, and silence respecting the feet, that he does not here mean *dancing* but *gesticulation*, such as Lucian alludes to in the passage respecting orators.

We are told that Aristoxenus wrote a treatise περὶ τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως; we know nothing of its contents, but the name has seemed to imply that the chorus danced. I now ask whether it is not allowable to interpret ὀρχήσεως in a larger sense, and to suppose the treatise was on tragic acting?

Let it not be objected that I am quibbling on terms. Let it not be said, "The Greek dancing was very different from our dancing; it was more complex, and included every species of pantomimic gesticulation; therefore you are fighting a chimera."

I accept the premiss, but object to the conclusion. My object is to prove that the tragic chorus did not *dance*, giving to the word 'dance' any sense it may bear in English, or understanding by it any thing similar to what the learned Bishop Blomfield and other scholars understand by it. The Greeks may have understood by ὄρχησις all that we understand by dancing, together with all that we understand by gesticulation; as English people understand by *a play* either a tragedy or a comedy, a melodrame or a farce, a monologue or a spectacle. But it is as absurd to conclude that Æschylus taught dances because he was his own ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος, as it would in some future scholiast to conclude that Sheridan Knowles wrote farces because he was called a dramatist.

Whenever you meet with the word ὄρχησις applied to the tragic chorus, you must translate it by gesticulation, not by dancing; and in this way the external evidence will be reconciled to that of the internal evidence of the plays. You will not be called upon to imagine old senators 'figuring up and down,' with staves in their hands; you will only have to fancy them employing the significant and artistic attitudes and gesticulations such as Macready taught his chorus to perform.

Having cleared the way so far, I now come to the plays

themselves. Their testimony is indubitable; one passage from them establishing, or even seeming to establish, the fact of dancing, would be sufficient to destroy all the arguments which I have adduced; unless, indeed, that passage admitted of explanation.

Modern scholars, with that felicity in blundering which is not uncommon among them, have worn many quills to stumps in disputes as to which of the choruses were accompanied with dancing. One declares that a certain passage, usually considered a *stasimon*, bears on the face of it the strongest evidence of having been a dancing chorus. You inquire what this 'strongest evidence' may be; you are told that the *metre* of the passage proves it. Scholars are not yet agreed on the metre of the choruses, yet the metre is assumed as evidence! In this way, the task of proving an hypothesis is no Herculean labour: accordingly we have innumerable contradictory hypotheses all equally well established. From the fierce war of commentators, however, some result is to be obtained. I, for one, conclude, from these furious differences, that neither opinion has any solid foundation; that the arguments which destroy the evidence of dancing in one chorus, destroy the evidence of dancing in all the choruses. One example will suffice. Böckh, wishing to prove that the chorus stood still during the stasimon, is hampered with the fact that stasima are divided into strophes and antistrophes, which are usually said to imply dancing; he gets out of the difficulty by declaring[9] that the notion of the chorus having danced right and left while singing strophe and antistrophe, and stood still during the epodos, is nothing but one of the many absurdities interpolated by the grammarians, and is not even true with regard to Pindar, much less the tragedians. Böckh might have refuted the scholiasts from the plays themselves, since both strophe and antistrophe are not unfrequently assigned to the

[9] Die bekannte Behauptung, dass der Chor die Strophe gesungen habe, während er sich rechts, die Gegenstrophe, während er sich links bewegt habe, die Epodos aber stehend (Ptolemæos in dem *Anecdoton* von Boissonade welches im *Rhein. Mus.* von Welcker. 1 Jarhg. 1833, p. 169, wieder gedruckt ist, Schol. Pind. p. 11. meiner Ausg. Schol. Hephaest. p. 200. Mar. Victorin. p. 2501. Schol. *Eurip. Hek.* 647. Vergl. Etym. M. in προσῳδιον) ist nichts als eine mit andern Seltsamkeiten verbrämte Alexandrinisch-Byzantinishe Lehre, die nicht einmal für den Pindar wahr ist noch weniger für die Tragiker. Böckh, *Antigone*, Abhandlungen, p. 281.

actors; and no one supposes the actors to have danced. In truth the scholiasts blundered, because they looked to the etymological meaning of each word; and in this way some future critic might assert that the ballad of 'Auld Robin Gray' was accompanied with dancing because *ballad* is derived from *ballare.*

Does not the reader, however, see, from the above example, that the evidence of the scholiasts amounts to very little, and the arguments of modern critics to less? Let us then disregard both, and look only to the plays.

There is one peculiarity in the Greek drama which the reader must distinctly keep in view; it is the express indication in words of every thing that takes place on the stage: it is the absence of what moderns call *stage directions,* which are replaced by verbal indications. A modern play abounds with stage directions. In a Greek play this information is conveyed by the chorus, or one of the actors. "It is seldom that any one enters," says Geppert, "without being announced beforehand; seldom any one leaves the stage without previously saying that he is about to do so. The chorus begins no lament, no hymn, *no dance,* without some previous indication. The actors never approach each other without the poet's informing us of it. Whether they approach with friendliness or enmity, whether they look joyfully or sorrowfully, is always described with great precision [10]." Geppert includes the dance amongst the things indicated. I venture to affirm that the dance is never indicated; and the silence of the dramatists on this point is one of my strongest positions.

In the following passages, *singing* is expressly mentioned by Æschylus, without a hint of the dancing.

Prometh., v. 555-7. *Persæ*, 568. 618. 624. 685. 936. 1039. *Septem c. Theb.*, 825. 834. 854. 867. *Agam.*, 106. 120. 992. *Choeph.*, 148. *Supplices*, 111-15. 120. 805. 1022.

There are doubtless many more, but the above will suffice. Gruppe indeed asserts[11], that the chorus in the Persæ, 624, "vollzieht in einem Gesange mit Tanz die Feierlichkeit," but upon what grounds he asserts this I am at a loss to conceive. The chorus speaks plainly enough of its cries and songs, but not a word of its dance.

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[10] *Alt-Griech. Bühne*, p. 237.

[11] *Ariadne*, p. 623.

There is no force in the objection that the dancing is not mentioned because it formed a necessary part of the chorus. The singing also formed a necessary part; yet it is spoken of. The singing, indeed, formed a larger part of the chorus than even the dancing is supposed to have formed, since the chorus always sang, but did not always dance.

Together with this silence of the tragic chorus, which is only negative evidence, I have to notice the distinct and express indication of dancing afforded by the *Cyclops*, a satyr-play by Euripides. The reader will remember my hypothesis is, that dancing was banished from tragedy, but was retained in comedy and the satyr-plays. If, therefore, the satyr-play had dancing, we must find in it express indications of the fact, or else the negative evidence, the silence of the tragedies, will have no weight. If, on the contrary, the satyr-play does give positive indications, then will the silence of the tragedies have the very greatest weight. And this is so.

Silenus sees the chorus of satyrs approaching, and he thus announces them:

> *ἤδη δὲ παῖδας προσνέμοντας εἰσορῶ*
> *ποίμνας· τί ταῦτα; μῶν κρότος Σικιννίδων,*
> *ὅμοιος ὑμῖν νῦν τε, χ' ὥτε Βακχίῳ*
> *κῶμαι συνασπίζοντες Ἀλθαίας δόμους*
> *προσῇτ' ἀοίδαις βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι;* Cyclops, v. 34.

The chorus then enters dancing. Observe, that not only does the poet indicate the fact, but also the style of dancing; Sicinnian measures were those peculiar to the satyric chorus! This is not the only indication. Silenus having tasted the wine, roars out: *βαβαί· χορεῦσαι παρακαλεῖ μ' ὁ Βακχίος· ἄ, ἄ, ἄ.* At v. 167-170 there is another indication. Elsewhere, too, the satyr bidding Cyclops "swallow any thing but him," the monster replies:

> You in my belly! horror if I had!
> Your capering antics there would drive me mad! V. 220.

There are no such passages as these in the tragedies, yet the tragic poets indicate all sorts of unimportant points, such as slapping the breasts, tearing the hair, crying aloud, and singing, all of which must have been evident to the audience without any information; the tragic poets do not indicate dancing.

Still more conclusive is the silence of the tragedies rendered, when we add, that in the *Bacchæ of Euripides, the dancing is expressly indicated.* This at first seems to contradict my view; on a nearer consideration, it will be found to strengthen it. Had there been no mention in the *Bacchæ* of dancing, my argument derived from the silence of the other plays would have been enfeebled. For, is it not obvious that a Bacchic chorus would retain an element so important as the dancing? Was not the reason given for the banishment of dancing from tragedy precisely this: that the tragic chorus had ceased to be Bacchic, consequently, had no need of the Bacchic attributes? and does it not follow, that a tragedy which employed the Bacchic chorus would also employ the Bacchic attributes? Hence I was led to conclude that the chorus danced in the *Bacchæ.* On consulting the play, I found abundant evidence of my supposition. I need only refer the reader to v. 57, 199.

At verse 1151 the chorus opens with these words:

ἀναχορεύσωμεν Βακχεῖον.
ἀναβοάσωμεν ξυμφορὰν
τὰν τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκγένετα.

Can any thing be more explicit than the *ἀναχορεύσωμεν*? Can any such plain indication be found in the other tragedies? No, nothing at all indicative of dancing *as an act then being performed;* only two or three general remarks on dancing as a *prospective act.*

And this brings me to the examination of the few passages which critics have declared indicative of dancing. The *Antigone* has two such passages. At v. 147 the chorus says, "Since victory has come, let us forget the present wars, and the temples of the gods let us visit, with dances lasting all the night:"

θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς χοροῖς
παννυχίοις πάντας ἐπέλθωμεν.

Now, I consider that this reference to dancing is wholly *prospective:* indicating no dancing then being performed, but only the resolution of performing dances at a future period. They *are not* dancing; *they will* dance through the night in the temple of the gods. Observe, that they are not now at the shrines of these temples; it is not night; instead of dancing, they stop to remark that Orion approaches.

Suppose, instead of saying 'let us visit the temples of the

gods with dances,' they had said, 'let us build a temple to the gods:' no one would have concluded from such a phrase that the chorus was actually engaged in building: no one ought, therefore, to conclude from its phrase that the chorus was actually dancing.

Böckh asserts that the celebrated Hymn to Bacchus (Antig. 1227) was obviously accompanied with dancing. Perhaps no chorus in the whole Greek drama (the Bacchæ excepted) would seem to justify dancing more than this. It is in praise of Bacchus. Nevertheless, the chorus is not composed of Bacchantes, but of grave and venerable senators, who talk, indeed, of the dancing of others, but make no mention of their own—who invoke Bacchus to appear with his attendant 'Thyades, who, struck with frenzy, all night dance in honour of their Iacchan lord.' But it is one thing to speak of dancing Thyades, another thing to dance. Böckh, however, sees both in the metre and in the expressions distinct evidence of dancing. 'Der Chor hofft und wünscht, dass Dionysos helfen werde; dies giebt ihm eine gewisse Heiterkeit, die in einer tragischen Ἐμμέλεια sich passend ausdrückt; auch führt der Bacchische Inhalt schon auf Bewegung, da das Bacchische den Tanz liebt. Sodann wäre es wider die Natur wenn der Chor still stände, während er so viel von Tanz spricht oder von Bewegung wenigstens (Wie 1079); ἔνθα Κωρύκιαι Νύμφαι στείχουσι Βακχίδες. 1095 f. προφάνηθι Ναΐζαις σαῖς ἅμα περιπόλοις, αἳ σε μαινόμεναι πάννυχοι χορεύουσι τὸν ταμίαν Ἴακχον.' These arguments are singularly inefficient. If it be unnatural for the chorus to stand still while speaking so much of dancing (the 'so much' amounting to one word!), so must it be unnatural for the chorus not to fight when speaking, as they often do, so much of fighting.

Dancing was a portion of religious worship; it is therefore frequently alluded to in tragedy; but alluded to as sacrifices, auguries, and battles are alluded to, not spoken of as a thing then being performed. In this sense must we read the two passages in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, v. 896, and v. 1093. Here is a literal translation (from that published at Cambridge, 1844, which I use as a proof that I have not twisted the meanings to my purpose): "But if any one by deed or word proceeds insolently, having no fear of justice, and not respecting the seats of the gods, may evil fate take him on account of his wicked

luxury; if he will not gain his gain justly, and abstain from impious things, but being mad touches what is holy; in such circumstances what man can ever ward off from himself punishment? *for if such actions are honourable, why should I dance in honour of the gods?*"

The sense of this clearly is, 'If the gods be unjust, why should I reverence them with dances?' The words are τί δεῖ με χορεύειν; 'what need then for me to dance?' not 'why do I now at this present moment dance?' Substitute 'sacrifices' for 'dances,' and the meaning is evident. The second passage is, "If I am a prophet and wise in my mind, you will not, by the vast Olympus I swear, O Cithæron, you will not be tomorrow at full moon, so that we shall not honour you as the countryman and nurse and mother of Œdipus; and *so that you shall not be celebrated in dances by us*, as giving pleasure to my master."

This is so obviously prospective in its allusion, that it needs no comment. In the *Ajax* there is a passage which I once thought completely refuted my hypothesis; but as throughout this investigation I have made it a point to look boldly in the face of every difficulty, instead of shutting my eyes to it, as some writers are in the habit of doing, I soon found that my fears were groundless. Here is the passage (from the literal translation before quoted), 'O Pan, Pan, Pan, you who wander over the sea; O king, who leadest the dances of the gods, appear, that being with me you may join hands in the Nysian Gnossian self-taught dances, *for now I wish to dance.*' Here the chorus express a *wish;* it gives no indication of having realized that wish: wishing to dance is not exactly dancing. The chorus calls upon Pan—calls upon Apollo; neither appear, and the dancing remains a wish. Had the chorus wished any thing else, would you have concluded therefrom that it executed the wish? Had it said, 'Pan appear, for now I wish to play on your dulcet reeds, wish to wander with you through the sylvan shades,' would you have therefrom concluded the presence of 'dulcet reeds and sylvan shades?' I think not; therefore, should you not conclude the presence of dancing.

The vague and general sense of the foregoing passages is forcibly contrasted with the precise and positive sense of the passages in the *Bacchæ* and *Cyclops* indicative of dancing, and the passages of the other tragedies indicative of singing,

lamentation, beating breasts, &c. The chorus says distinctly enough, "Let us sing; let us raise the cries; let us beat our breasts; lament with me;" no one can mistake the meaning. Why are the indications of dancing not equally precise? Why are they equally precise in the satyr-play? If there was no difference between the tragic chorus and the satyric chorus in respect to dancing, why this immense difference with respect to the indications?

There is one more passage to be explained. The chorus in the *Eumenides*, v. 307, says,

> ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἄψωμεν, ἐπεὶ
> μοῦσαν στυγερὰν
> ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεδόκησε.

Χορὸν ἄψωμεν is usually supposed to mean, 'let us form a ring and dance.' Not to insist on Welcker's refutation of the idea of a circular dance in tragedy, I demur to the interpretation on other grounds.

The chorus of the 'Eumenides' differs from the chorus of other plays in many essential particulars. They are furies instead of men and women; they are not mortal. They were, as the whole tenor of the play sufficiently proves, *on the stage*, instead of being in the *orchestra*. Now, being on the stage, they must have worn *Cothurnus* and *Mask* to keep them at least with equal stature with Orestes and the Priestess: and from the accounts of their terrific appearance, it may be suspected that they were larger in stature than ordinary actors. Yet the contrivances necessary to render the actors of a fitting stature for the stage entirely prevented their easy movement; certainly prevented their dancing; and the size of the stage would not have allowed of a troop of furies dancing in a circle. A 'troop of furies;' not 'three,' as some modern critics suppose[12]. Besides, the stage was not the place for dancing; or

[12] Those who maintain that the number of the furies was three, should consider that although the Greeks counted one, two, and many, and therefore the passage in the Choëphoræ, αἵδε πληθύουσι δέ, may be interpreted as meaning only three, yet Æschylus himself in the Eumenides makes use of expressions which cannot be interpreted as meaning three; the priestess (v. 47) calls the furies τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος: exactly Virgil's phrase '*agmina* sæva sororum.' A troop must mean more than three. At v. 196, the epithet is still more conclusive: ἄνευ βοτῆρος—ποίμνης τοιαύτης. Who would call three a *flock*?

are we to suppose the furies descended into the orchestra to dance?

These are points which prevent my thinking that the furies really danced; but as the words χορὸν ἄψωμεν are very precise, I confess they stagger my conviction. Let not the reader suppose that I doubt the fact of the furies having danced, because the admission of the fact would destroy my hopothesis; not in the least! I am as willing, as far as my view of the tragic chorus is concerned, to concede the fact of the furies dancing, as I was willing to admit that of the Bacchæ, and on similar grounds. The furies form an exceptional chorus. They *may* have danced in a wild, ferocious style, like the witches in *Macbeth*. I do not believe they did; but, if they did, I protest against their actions being held good of all other choruses. They are actors in the drama and on the stage; above all, they are not mortal. I have proved, I think, that the other choruses did not dance. If any one proves that this one did dance, he will only prove a second exception to the rule, of which the Bacchæ is the first.

I cannot conclude this essay without a reference to the passage in the *Troades* of Euripides, which is frequently quoted as a proof of the dancing. It is nothing of the kind, as any one may see who will turn to v. 320, and examine the passage. Cassandra, who is raving mad, bids her mother to 'lead the dance, quick in varying motions tread, and my gliding steps to grace, light the mazy measure trace.' But, independently of this being only the random talking of a mad girl, critics have forgotten that it is the talking of *an actor;* yet no one maintains that the actors did or could dance. Should any one maintain this, he is welcome. My object has been to shew that the *chorus* did not dance; and this has, I trust, been satisfactorily proved in the foregoing pages.

In Gruppe's admirable work on the Greek drama (*Ariadne*), he apologizes in his preface for not being what is termed a philologer. If so excellent a scholar, as the work proves him to be, can deem such an apology necessary, how much more must I deem it necessary, who make no pretensions to scholarship whatever? The Greek drama has been a favourite subject with me for some years, and the present investigation has occupied some months of very careful research. But still I am

quite aware, that in placing myself in opposition to the many learned and ingenious men who have written on the chorus, I have been guilty of a temerity which success alone can pardon. Let me also add, that failure will not be without its consolation; since I have, at any rate, interrupted the quiet traditional registration of a fact, and roused men to examine its credibility. Niebuhr, speaking of the early history of Rome, says, "It is incomprehensible how even very ingenious writers, men far above us, took the details of ancient history for granted, without feeling any doubt as to their credibility. Thus Scaliger believed the list of the Kings of Sicyon to be as authentic and consistent as that of the Kings of France. *Men lived in a state of literary innocence.*" (*Lectures on Roman History*, I. 2.) From such a state of literary innocence I have endeavoured to awaken the critics of the Greek Drama.

G. H. Lewes.

XXIV.

ON THE SCULPTURED GROUPS IN THE PEDIMENTS OF THE PARTHENON.

By PROFESSOR F. G. WELCKER.

Translated from the Author's MS. by Dr. L. Schmitz.

The sculptures of the Parthenon, since their removal to London, have exercised a great influence upon the knowledge of art, though perhaps not upon art itself, which depends on other circumstances besides the best models that are attainable. They have afforded to the history of art a new central point, great and new light in all directions, and for all ages a correct standard by which to estimate the principal relations of art. The subjects represented in these sculptures have often been examined, and their importance recognized; especial praise is due to the late Chevalier Bröndsted for the unwearied labour which he has bestowed upon these works, and by which he has greatly contributed towards the establishment of the opinion that they are not to be viewed as mere ornaments, but that they are everywhere full of meaning, allusion, and intention, and form one connected whole. His view concerning the com-

position of the statues in the two pediments is but very briefly stated in two pages of his work on the metopes, which contains much that is excellent, together with some premature notions.[1] He subsequently attempted restorations, which are in the possession of the Society of Dilettanti, and are intended for a new volume of its publications, if the explanatory text required for it should be found sufficiently complete among his posthumous papers. At any rate, however, there is no prospect of the work being published soon, and no one ought to keep back his thoughts who has reason to believe that he has arrived at a higher degree of certainty in understanding the ideas of a Phidias, as expressed in one of his greatest, and in many respects undoubtedly his greatest, works, than has yet been afforded by the attempts of many eminent scholars.

The British Museum possesses in the works of Phidias a treasure with which nothing can be compared in the whole range of ancient art. Homer belongs to all civilized countries, and all educated individuals, especially to those who understand him best; but the Homer of the plastic art is, in a certain sense, to be found there alone; among his works the statues are pre-eminent, and formerly they were still more so in their two separate combinations. The individual figures in each composition acquire, by their position, the character and meaning by which they are to be estimated; and the greater the genius which produced them, the more important does it become accurately to comprehend the thoughts and intentions as expressed both in the whole and in all its particulars. The greatness of Phidias as a sculptor has been universally acknowledged with admiration; but his power of invention, and his wisdom, if we may judge from the superficial manner in which many figures and relations have been treated, seem to have been often greatly undervalued.

In order to form a correct judgment of these sculptured pediments, it is especially necessary always to keep both in view at once, and to learn from the one that which throws light upon the other; and as we are acquainted with the figures of the western pediment, it is true, only from the drawing made in 1674, but at least in that state of completeness which renders it possible to guess at the parts which are wanting, we must

[1] *Reisen in Griechenland*, Vol. II. p. 11, fol. 1830.

diment

ment

make that drawing the basis of our investigation[2]. This drawing has itself become a monument, and every future age that honours Phidias will know how to estimate its great value. Some expounders do not judge favourably about its accuracy[3], but a closer examination would have removed their doubts. Others again did justice to its truth and faithfulness, without being struck by the fact that it does not exhibit the grand style of Phidias, which was not comprehended at the time of Carrey[4]. In the drawing of the hinder groups there are, it is true, a few mistakes[5], but we must consider the height at which the figures were placed, the unequal and glaring light at Athens, which often overpowers even strong eyes, and the different circumstances which, in that locality, may so easily have become obstacles to the draughtsman, or may have compelled him to hasten his work.

By comparing the drawing of the western with the two ends of the eastern or front pediment, which are preserved, though not without being greatly mutilated, we perceive the rule according to which Phidias, within the limits of symmetry, which is observed throughout, applied variety and contrast, but founded the symmetrical proportions on certain divisions, which, at the

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[2] An accurate copy of the one taken at Paris, from the original of Carrey, is given in the continuation of Stuart, *Ant. of Ath.*, Vol. IV. ch. 4, pl. 1, 2, 3, 4; the halves are put together, and what is still extant has likewise been consulted in pl. 5. It is repeated in the new edition of Stuart's work, and in execution it is improved in the *British Museum*, Vol. VI. pl. 20; the annexed representation is taken from the latter.

[3] C. O. Müller, *de Phidiæ vita et operibus*, p. 92; Millingen, in a well-digested paper on the sixth volume of the *British Museum*, which is printed in the *Annal. dell' Instit. di Corrispondenza Archeol.*, Vol. IV. p. 197—212. The fact that the two corners of the pediment do not agree is no proof whatever against the correctness in the drawing of the figures, as the pediment is drawn on two distinct leaves, and the drawings may have been made at different times.

[4] For example, the French architect Le Grand, who himself in 1802 made an accurate copy of the drawings of Carrey, in Vol. IV. of Stuart's work, p. 20.

[5] The Ilissus is taken for a female figure; in the next really female figure the left breast is, above and below, a little more bare than in the drawing which was afterwards taken by Stuart of this goddess and the male figure grouped together with her (Vol. II. pl. 9). The space which had been occupied by the horses of Amphitrite is represented too small; and lastly, on the other side, the larger of the two children should not be turning towards his mother. In the fragment in the British Museum, however little there remains of it, we see that the boy looked outward; a part of his left leg and the beginning of the right may still be recognised.

same time, affect the character or the significance of the personages. The manner in which, and the point from which, he chooses his subject, and the moment at which the mythus is conceived, open to us the understanding of the entire composition; and if we apply this mode of viewing the subject to the other pediment, of which the whole central part is wanting, we see that this mythus too could be treated by a sculptor in a satisfactory manner. Lastly, the comparison of the two compositions furnishes important means and suggestions for a correct explanation of the detail also.

The deviations from the symmetrical proportion easily strike the eye of the beholder; they are such as would naturally arise from the subject itself; they are free, and treated unscrupulously, and some are intentionally set forth and strongly marked. In one corner of the *eastern pediment* the god of the sun rises, in the other, Selene (who, together with the one of the horses' heads, was wanting as early as the time of Carrey) sank down, and the horses of the sun rise above the upper cornice, while those of Selene projected above the lower one downwards. In the one corner the god behind the horses, and in the latter the horses before the goddess, form the extreme ends of the groups. Next follows, on each side, a figure in a recumbent posture; the one opposite to Helios is a male figure, and the one opposite to Selene a female. After the male figure in the one corner there follow three females, while in the other all four are females. Among these figures, three on the side of Selene are represented as sisters, and on that of Helios two only. The third figure, beginning with the recumbent male one, raises up her left arm, while the third, beginning with the recumbent female, has the right arm hanging down. In the *western pediment*, the left corner, as in the former, is occupied by a male, and the right by a female figure. The two next personages in the former pediment are connected together, and in our pediment they are distinct and separated from each other; whereas, in the former, the interval between the connected pair and the extreme figure is somewhat greater. There is also a great difference between the male figure leaning backwards in the former, and the sitting and partly crouching one in the latter. The naked boy on the left side corresponds to a naked goddess on the other, where, at the same time, two little boys are added to their mothers without there being any thing

corresponding on the other side. Opposite the couple of horses there was, as we shall see hereafter, a couple of hippocampæ (ἱππόκαμπαι) or sea-horses. By the side of the horses of Athena there is a god, and by the side of those of Poseidon, which have disappeared, there is a goddess.

If we look merely at the external relation of the figures, we perceive a classification, which becomes still more confirmed by a little assistance derived from a knowledge of the personages represented. In order to set forth more clearly the importance of the external appearance and classification for fixing the meaning of the figures, I shall now and then anticipate my explanations, and briefly state those classifications. In consequence of the symmetry, it will be necessary for the explanation to proceed from the centre and from the ends.

The Western Pediment.—1. The chief persons in the centre are Athena and Poseidon. 2. The chariots of the two divinities, with the personages belonging to them. 3. On the one side the divinities of the land, and on the other those of the sea, who form the suites of the two principal personages. 4. Heracles and Hebe on the side of Athena, and Theseus in the suite of Poseidon; but as there was no Hebe for him, the artist added a female divinity, who, however, does not belong to him, but to the preceding division. 5. In the corners we have the Attic river-gods, Ilissus and Callirrhoë.

The Eastern Pediment.—1. The principal figure in the centre was Zeus. 2. and 3. On the two sides, below him, the new-born goddess, the god who had assisted at her birth, and the gods of Olympus as spectators. 4. The Attic Dæmones. 5. Helios and Selene, the one rising and the other sitting.

These in general undeniable relations of certain masses, groups, and classes of persons, to one another, must be kept in view in endeavouring to give an explanation; but we have, on the other hand, to consult the whole stock of our mythological knowledge, in order to ascertain the suitable, probable, or certain meaning, both of the individual figures and of the whole composition. The internal reasons which are determined by the mythological circumstances known from other sources, and those which arise from the external relations of the plastic art, must always be compared with each other, and, as I have already said, both pediments must be kept in view together, in

order to determine what is to be admitted into the explanation, and what rejected.

Phidias, who lived at a time of the boldest and greatest innovations and intellectual expansions, and who was himself the most inventive artist, and the sublimest genius, treated the sacred legends of the religion of his country with freedom in his productions, though without in any way opposing them. This he did both by omitting ancient symbols, and by inventing new and significant figures and combinations. A striking instance of it occurs in the pedestal of the Olympian Zeus, where he had represented the birth of Aphrodite from the sea in twenty-two figures. The amour between Zeus and Hera was traced, in a very ancient legend, to his having metamorphosed himself into a cuckoo, for which reason the great statue of gold and ivory in the Heræum, between Argos and Mycenæ, had a cuckoo on its sceptre. Aphrodite, however, being the symbol of domestic happiness, is often connected with Hera, the symbol of domestic duty; and there can be no doubt but that Phidias chose the birth of Aphrodite as his subject on the pedestal, for the purpose of alluding to the marriage of Zeus. Now, how great is the difference between that ancient mystical fable and the birth of Aphrodite, which was here used as an allegory and allusion, and gracefully and poetically treated! In like manner Phidias chose the birth of Pandora for the pedestal of Pallas in the Parthenon itself. This group consisted likewise of twenty-two figures[6], which is about the same number that we find in our two pediments. Pandora was the first woman, and received presents from all the gods; and Pallas, as Ergane, was the goddess and the model of women. The representation, therefore, clearly suggested that the virgin with the helmet was not worshipped in that temple merely as a warrior goddess.

The extant statues and fragments of the pediments press

[6] Pausan. I. 24. 7; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* XXXVI. 4, 4: "In basi autem quod cælatum est, Pandoras genesin vocavit. Ibi dii sunt XX. numero nascentes, Victoria præcipue mirabili." The emendations, *adstantes, dona ferentes*, or *munera porrigentes*, as Stuart proposed, or *gestantes*, differ too widely from the common reading. It suffices to read, "ibi dii *ad*sunt XX. numero nascen*ti*." At the ends there were probably Helios and Selene, or other figures, which served as a frame, and these at least did not bring presents. Pandora herself and Hephæstus must be added to the number twenty.

upon us another observation. They shew as clearly as possible that the artist gave up every thing traditional and conventional in art for that which was natural in form and feature, posture and attitude; and that he took his models from real life. These figures reclining in ease, in the freest attitudes, such as every moment might change in a hundred ways, according either to a caprice or a circumstance of space; these varied, smooth, loose, and broken folds of the drapery, like the waves which take direction from the smallest resistance, and multiply their play without end, are more than different from the ancient regularity and stiff neatness: they indicate a conscious re-action against the old rule, and the power of a yet new principle. The difference which the works of Phidias present in this respect from the statues of the temple of Pallas in Ægina, is so striking, that one cannot help wondering at the opinion which seems to be now generally received, that the latter works, too, were not produced till after the victories over the Persians. They are separated from the works of Phidias by a whole century, and it required that entire change of things in Greece, which was brought about by the Persian wars—the movement of the intellect in philosophy and poetry, which was increased by the political and national elevation, but had been prepared before—to produce a change, a freedom, and an originality in art such as we admire in the works of Phidias.

Pausanias describes the substance of what was represented in each of the two compositions in a few words. "In the front," he says, "every thing refers to the birth of Athena; and at the back the contest of Athena and Poseidon respecting the country (Attica) is represented[7]." With such brevity he could not have expressed himself more correctly. Respecting the manner in which it was done, he does not say a single word, and we must therefore seek for information solely in the works themselves. From them we see that Phidias did not represent the moment at which Athena came into the world, but the one following her birth; and not the actual contest between the two divinities, but the moment at which it was decided: that is, the victory of Athena. Artists of different

[7] Pausan. I. 24. 5: Ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν, ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν· τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστιν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.

ages have frequently represented the most important religious, mystical, fabulous, and even historical, subjects, by choosing a moment which suggested a whole series of events, and from which that which preceded, as well as that which followed it—in short, the whole sacred or well-known history, springs forth. Pæonius, as Pausanias says, represented in the front pediment of the Olympian temple, the contest of Pelops as impending. The artistic wisdom with which Phidias has applied this mode of conceiving his subject in our two pediments, both with regard to his art and to his space, cannot be sufficiently praised. Let any one accurately examine both the fables and his treatment of them. The birth of Athena takes place in Olympus: the presence of the great gods, therefore, is suggested by the locality. Her dispute with Poseidon about the possession of Attica is not an affair of the Olympian gods, and only those divinities are represented with them who stand in a special relation to the Attic goddess, and to the ruler of the sea. The repetition of the same figures in the two works was thus naturally avoided.

He who endeavours to find the explanation of these compositions, will do well to begin with the western pediment, because the composition is still complete: at least, so complete that we can reproduce it in our imagination with more distinctness and clearness than that of any other pediment of which we have any knowledge; but I shall proceed in that way which is required by the subject when taken by itself.

The Eastern or Front Pediment.

As we have still before us the two ends of this composition in ten figures, reckoning Helios and Selene with their chariots for two figures, while the central ones, having disappeared at an early time, were not drawn by Carrey, it is natural to begin with the ends. In his representation of the birth of Aphrodite, Phidias had, in like manner, placed *Helios* and *Selene* at the two ends, with this difference, that he had represented Selene riding on a horse or mule, for which there was a local reason in Elis. It is wonderful to see how he contrived to adapt the representation of Helios and Selene's chariots to the pointed corners of the pediment: what may be termed the symbolism in art, is here seen in its highest perfection. The head of Helios rose at almost a right angle with the reclining

figure opposite to him; he pulled up his horses, and was leaning backward as much as possible; the manes were yet rising over his body, and an accurate observer, as Fauvel remarks, might see them under the god's arm, which projected over the cornice. And they would not have been indicated in vain in the marble over the whole surface of the body; they were perhaps made more obvious by a greenish colour. The exertion of the charioteer, who was leaning back and pulling up his horses, was expressive of power; and the expression of the two horses pressing forward, above the upper cornice, as well as above the horizon, indicated the fire of the sun. The space for the figure of Selene, to which belongs the much-admired horse's head (the second head is wanting), is visible in Carrey's drawing. But the figure itself had disappeared, and what artist will attempt to invent a *pendant* to the merely suggested figure of Helios? The chariot was here no more visible than on the other side.

The group next to Selene, of which, in Carrey's drawing, the foremost and hindmost figures still have their heads, represents the three sisters, *Aglauros*, *Herse*, and *Pandrosos*—the Attic divinities, Clearness, Dew, and All-dew. This explanation is, to my mind, so certain, that I shall in part found the subsequent explanations upon it, and shall take it as my starting point. The Pandrosion was an ancient sanctuary, connected with the adjoining temple of Athena Polias; and the three sisters, together with their father Cecrops, were worshipped in the grotto of the Acropolis, which was on the same side as the temple, and faces the modern town of Athens. The grotto was called the cave of Cecrops, or the *μακραὶ πέτραι*, as we know, from the Ion of Euripides[8]; and a remarkable bas-relief found at Athens[9] represents, according to the indubitable explanation of Visconti, Cecrops and his three daughters at the back of the cave, with a series of six small figures of devout persons, who are praying or making vows to them. To indicate this grotto still more clearly, in which at the time of the Persian war an altar was erected to Pan, this god is represented

[8] Vers. 274, 492-96, 1400.

[9] *Museum Worsleyanum*, London, 1824. Tom. I. p. 19; in the Milan edition, tav. IV. Aglauros also had a *τέμενος* below the Acropolis, as is stated by Pausanias (I. 18. 2), who likewise mentions the Pandrosion (I. 27. 3. comp. Herod. VIII. 53).

reclining outside upon the rock. The altar, cut in the rock itself, is still extant in the spacious grotto, and no lover of antiquity who visits Athens should leave it unseen. The three sisters in this bas-relief hold one another by the hands, as is frequently seen in the representations of the Horæ, in order to indicate the unity of their nature; the foremost of them is distinguished by having the arms, neck, and head covered: it is Aglauros, the priestess of Athena, as Hesychius says. The sisterly character of the Charites is happily expressed in the well-known group of three standing figures which embrace one another. Phidias, though under the necessity of representing them in this place partly in a sitting and partly in a reclining posture, has still contrived to make it perfectly clear that they belong to each other as sisters, by the confiding and careless manner in which they lean upon one another. The arm of Herse, the middle figure, rests on the knees of Aglauros, the foremost, who is sitting and looking forward, and thereby differs a little from the two other figures. The last, who is reclining on the knees of her sister, seems to be intended as Pandrosos, because her stretched-out figure, which is at the same time symmetrical with a figure on the other side, is symbolical of the preparation of dew, or of the name of Pandrosos. She is looking towards Selene, and Alcman allegorically calls Herse a daughter of Zeus and the divine Selana, an expression which is no less applicable to Pandrosos. These figures have hitherto been generally considered as the Parcæ: Colonel Leake alone calls them Vesta, Ceres, and Proserpina. Bröndsted's notion that Zeus appeared between the morning and evening, and at the same time surrounded by the three Horæ and the three Fates, was derived from ancient works of art, where, it is true, the figures of these goddesses were represented in the crown of the colossal statue, or elsewhere in some subordinate manner. But the Horæ were certainly not represented here, as has been acknowledged by Visconti, who calls them Proserpina, Ceres, and Iris; and by Colonel Leake, who calls them Peitho, Venus, and Iris. The three Horæ, who in the Homeric hymn on Aphrodite receive the goddess on her rising from the sea and dress her, do so in their capacity of goddesses of youth and flowers. The Parcæ, on the other hand, as separated from the Horæ, cannot be supposed to be represented

here, because it would be necessary to connect them with the birth of Athena, and not with Zeus; and however significant and beautiful the representation of the Mœræ is at the birth of mortals, their appearance in a scene where an immortal divinity comes into existence would be highly inappropriate. Mr. Cockerell went so far as to see in these three figures the difference between youth, middle age, and old age, basing his hypothesis upon a signification of Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, of which there is not a trace in the ancient writers. But independently of all this, the grave and melancholy Parcæ would bring into the composition only a discord, which we gladly discard, when we recollect another triad of sisters which is much more appropriate here.

It is less easy to ascertain the meaning of the three figures on the opposite side of Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos. The reclining figure is commonly believed to be Theseus: Visconti, Colonel Leake, and, quite recently, Gerhard, have declared the figure to be a Heracles; while Bröndsted took it for Cephalus, a son of Hermes and Herse. But it cannot be Cephalus, because, being a hero of a single demos, he is of little importance for Athens, and according to the character he bears in the physico-poetical traditions, he is not a being fit to look Helios in the face; for he is carried off by Eos, in order that darkness may be removed at the moment when Helios resumes his rule. The notion that Cephalus, as the favourite of Eos, is looking towards the rising sun, as Atropos is looking towards the setting of the moon, is one of those petty and playful fancies which we ought not to assign to a great sculptor. The supposition of the figure being a Heracles, is not easily reconcilable with the fact that Heracles appears on the other side among the gods; moreover, he could not well appear as a god at the moment of Athena's birth, and as a hero he stood in no particular relation to Attica. Lastly, the face, which is sufficiently preserved, is not expressive of the strength of Heracles, any more than of the youthful and heroic beauty of Theseus, which we might expect to find in a work of Phidias; and still less does it exhibit the character of Dionysus, to whom the forms of the body are altogether unsuited. The figure cannot well represent any other being than *Cecrops*, the first King of Athens, in whose reign, and by whose evidence—nay, by whose very sentence (according to one account)—the dispute between

Athena and Poseidon about the country was decided[10]. His sacred tomb, the Cecropion, existed in the Pandrosion, which was connected with the Erechtheium; he is seen in the above-mentioned bas-relief, in the cave of Cecrops (Κέκροπος ἄντρα), worshipped at the head of his daughters; and he there appears as a still young man, dressed in the simple old Attic fashion, in a short coat and cloak, and with bare arms and legs. The quiet and serious, one might almost say citizen-like, expression of the countenance in our figure, are suited to him, as are also the muscular though not exactly heroical forms of the body, which we must compare with those of the youthful Ilissus. The posture in which he is reclining is one of those which, being natural and ordinary, occur frequently, even when not commanded by the peculiar form of a pediment, and in the case of different personages, among whom Heracles and Dionysus also are found. The fact of the skin of an animal being spread on the ground for the purpose of lying or sitting upon it, is neither a peculiar nor characteristic mark. Cecrops, like Herse and Pandrosos, is reclining on a cloth spread under him; and two paws, suggesting the skin of an animal, the nature of which, however, cannot be determined, project from under it. The fact of Cecrops being here separated from his daughters, cannot possibly be taken as an argument against my explanation; as neither is in action, but both in a state of repose.

The two next goddesses, whom Visconti, as I before remarked, took for Ceres and Proserpina, seem, from their very connection, to be the two Attic Horæ, *Thallo* and *Auxo*. They are sitting on square blocks of stone, covered with pillows: chairs, such as the twelve gods have in the bas-relief of the eastern frieze, could not have borne the weight of the statues. The one who places her right hand on her lap, and her left arm upon her sister's shoulder, had nothing in her hand which hangs down, for else some trace of it would be still discernible. The front figure stretches her arm towards the new goddess. When the Attic ephebi were enrolled among the citizens, they were obliged to swear by these two goddesses,

[10] Apollodor. III. 14. 1, rejects the tradition that Cecrops and Cranaus or Erechtheus were the judges, and he maintains that the twelve gods pronounced the verdict, though they did so according to the evidence given by Cecrops. Callimachus mentioned him as the only judge. Schol. *ad Iliad.* XIX. 53.

and Aglauros, Ares, and Zeus; so that Zeus was in the middle between Aglauros and her husband Ares on the one hand, and the two sisters Thallo and Auxo on the other[11]. They were thus peculiarly sacred to every youth in Attica.

Of the two remaining figures towards the interior of the pediment, the one by the side of Aglauros and her sisters is *Nice*. It is the only one of the statues which had fallen down previous to the time of Carrey and has been recovered. The figure stood looking forward, lifting up her arms, or stretching them forth and raising her wings; she wears a girdle like the Nice who acts as charioteer in the western pediment. Her character is clearly indicated by the holes for fastening in the wings, and she has accordingly been recognized by Visconti as a Nice. Of all the divinities of a special and certain significance, Nice was the most suitable to appear among those present at the birth of the goddess, who herself bears the name of Athena Nice, or the victorious goddess. Bröndsted, therefore, ought to have refrained from applying the far-fetched name of Agathe Tyche to this figure. The objection of Mr. Millingen, that Nice occurs in the western pediment, and without wings, cannot alter my opinion. Wise as it was on the part of Phidias not to represent the same person twice in two works placed so near each other, having before him ample resources in mythology, as well as in himself, yet it is a sign of the very greatest genius that he does not scruple to admit the exception where it enlarges or confirms the rule. It is a very just observation that no great weight was attached, in the age of Phidias, to the distinction between the winged and unwinged Nice. In the ancient image in her temple at Athens, she was represented without wings[12], and in the same form she was always represented in the small temple, where, on the projecting rock close by the Cimonian wall, she announced the proud confidence of the Athenians, which was afterwards interpreted in the manner which we know from Pausanias[13]. No one, therefore, has ever entertained any doubt as to whether the female charioteer of Athena in the western pediment was Nice, although she is without wings: the fact of Ather- hastening towards her renders the figure sufficiently intelligi

[11] Jul. Pollux, VIII. 106.
[12] Pausan. v. 26. 5.
[13] III. 15. 5.

A Nice, raising her wings at the moment when Athena is born, is a beautiful idea; it is well calculated to exalt her nature, and could not have been expressed in any other way.

The other figure, on the side of Thallo and Auxo, who corresponds with the flying Nice by her running action, expressed by the movements of her garments, has, ever since the time of Visconti, been considered as Iris, and Mr. Millengen has adopted the same opinion. It was thought that she was hastening from Olympus to announce, either to the two divinities next to her, who were taken for Demeter and Persephone, or to all the world, the wonder she had just witnessed. The idea is rather far-fetched, and too pointed or rhetorical for Phidias; and it is refuted by the very circumstances alleged in support of it, viz. by the circular form which, in her flight, the cloak assumes above her back; for this broad and arching mass is so different from a rainbow, which might just as well have been formed by means of the peplus, that we may confidently assert that Phidias, who well understood the symbolism of nature, did not think of Iris when he made that figure. But there remains yet another daughter of Cecrops, *Oreithyia:* the moving figure, and the air playing with the folds of the chiton and swelling the peplus, are perfectly suited to her. In the Persian war the Athenians had been saved through Oreithyia's marriage with Boreas, and a temple was therefore erected to the latter on the banks of the Ilissus, on the spot where he had carried off Oreithyia. In one of the most remarkable vase-paintings published by the French Section of the Archæological Institute, the three sisters of Oreithyia—whose names, Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, are written upon the vase—are represented as witnessing the abduction of their sister, and as bringing about her legitimate marriage by conciliating their father. In my explanation of that painting, the style of which reminds me of Polygnotus, I have endeavoured to shew the wonderful combination of the physical meaning which these goddesses had in their worship with their personal character of princesses which they bear in the poetical fable. Phidias, in whose work the three usually united sisters are represented as divinities, was obliged to conceive Oreithyia also as a divine being, that is, as Thyia or the fertilizing air, who had a special sanctuary in Bœotia; for Oreithyia is only an intensive compound for Thyia. If looked at from this point of view, it was a happy thought to

place her by the side of Thallo and Auxo, who in part depend upon her animating breath, and in some sense she thus forms with them another triad of Attic goddesses, although externally she is made to correspond with Nice, just as Cecrops, a male being, corresponds with Pandrosos, one of the three sisters. The movement of Oreithyia, and the play of the breeze in her garments, probably does not express any particular moment, any more than the figures of Helios and Selene, but the nature of the divinity in a symbolical manner, and in general with reference to the common modes of representing her, by which she was recognized, just as a river-god is recognized by his attitude. The physical connection between Oreithyia and the goddess who is born in the æther, and is powerful in that region, according to very ancient notions, does not seem to me to have entered into the range of ideas to which Phidias confined himself.

Since thus, for the special reasons mentioned in connection with each separate figure, we see Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, Cecrops, and the two Horæ peculiar to Attica, and lastly Oreithyia, connected with the birth of Athena among the Olympian gods, and as we do not see a single divinity introduced among them that is not Attic, the thought naturally rises in our minds that it was Phidias's intention to represent the new-born goddess as created for Athens in particular and as worshipped by the Athenians. It is known from Pindar, that Athens and Rhodes disputed upon this point, or rather that the Rhodian mythus yielded to the Athenian, and admitted that burnt sacrifices had been first offered to Athena by the Athenians. If Pausanias had wished to add any thing to the word *birth*, he would evidently have been obliged to add *for Athens*. For we become easily convinced of the importance of this circumstance in the belief of the ancients, if we recollect the pious nature of kindred legends, which related that the gods visited the mortals, in order to be the first to hand over to them their gifts, and with them their worship. In this manner we find Demeter at Eleusis, from whence Triptolemus carried the ears of corn all over the world; Dionysus in Icaria, or other Attic places, or in Ætolia with king Œneus. We farther know that many tribes placed the birth of the gods themselves, nay, even of the father of gods and men, in the districts they inhabited or in a grotto of their hills. Bröndsted is mistaken in contrasting the front pediment as a representation of the

world, with the one at the back as representing the country of Attica. Athena had planted the first olive-tree for Attica, and upon this benevolent act she founded her claim to own the country and call it after her own name: and these facts, represented in the other pediment as a continuation of the first, sufficiently shew the deep meaning implied in the choice of the divinities who appear on the two sides of the front pediment. The importance of this evident and general meaning of the Attic divinities in our pediment is so great, that it acquires an influence upon those figures also which may still appear doubtful to some; for a well-founded explanation of a masterly composition must itself be consistent in all its parts, the details must illustrate one another, and the details as well as the whole must mutually explain and confirm each other. By the figures which, taken separately, might still be doubtful, I mean those of Cecrops, Oreithyia, and in the other pediment that of Ares by the side of Athena's chariot, for in the old Attic mythus, Ares was of greater importance than afterwards; not to mention other things, he was the husband of Aglauros, and he too was invoked in the oath of the ephebi. It was perhaps the artist's intention not to represent Erechtheus, the foster-child of the daughters of Cecrops, and the surname (παρθένος) of the goddess of the new temple, which derived its name from it, was probably not derived without some reference to the mystic worship of the neighbouring ancient Erechtheum, which asserted a certain maternity of Athena[14].

I am sorry to find myself in opposition to my friend, Professor Gerhard, who has written upon this pediment very recently[15], no less with regard to the difficult question as to how we have to conceive that portion of the great group, which has completely perished, than with regard to the figures still extant. He assumes that Zeus was represented at the moment when Athena sprang forth from his head. He was led to this supposition—Quatremère de Quincy had before him been led to adopt the same view by a well-known representation on a mirror—by the vase-paintings which have recently been dis-

[14] It is for this reason that we, perhaps, have to reject the opinion of Pausanias, I. 24. 7, that the dragon by the lance of Athena, in the great temple statue by Phidias, was Erichthonius, and the serpent perhaps alludes to Athena as Athena Hygiea.

[15] *Drei Vorlesungen*, Berlin, 1844, p. 29—48.

covered in great numbers, and which agree in this representation of the mythus. Bröndsted imagined that the daughter of Zeus was seen rising in the air towards the summit of the pediment, and above the head of her father, who appeared in a sitting posture; Mr. Millingen, who rejects both these opinions, thinks that, unless the little Pallas were seen on the head of Zeus, the group would not have been a representation of her birth, but only of an introduction or reception of Athena into the assembly of the gods. Among the vase-paintings, there is one class which is extremely valuable in several respects, and apparently copied from ancient religious temple paintings, a circumstance which may be easily explained; and in this manner the simplicity of some popular and mystic legends has been handed down to us in a far more expressive manner than in the miserable fictions which are for the most part the productions of late writers. I am inclined to consider the vases representing the birth of Athena as belonging to that class. The paintings in the interior of temples, as was the case also in the middle ages, usually have a traditional and stationary character, or at least they vary in secondary things only; architectonic sculpture, as applied to the ornamenting of temples (κόσμος), does not follow quite the same laws, and has, in part, its peculiar subjects. It is at any rate obvious, that the productions of vase manufactories, destined for certain purposes in ordinary life, can have had but a very limited influence upon sculpture and upon great public monuments. Every one who looks at the creations of Phidias with eyes entirely free from the impressions made by vase-paintings, and with an unbiassed judgment, must confess that he could not have represented Zeus in the same manner as the vase-painters. And if ever so many other artists, working as they did for the most different localities, and with the most different objects in view, had followed the example of those painters, certainly the sculptor who created the groups of Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, and of Thallo and Auxo, who knew how to manage within a given space the original figures of Aphrodite on the knees of Dione, and the group of the Eleusinian divinities, and who invented the figures of the twelve gods sitting on chairs in the eastern frieze, cannot have adopted an ancient type in representing Zeus giving birth to his daughter; he cannot have disfigured, by a monstrous notion of the ancient belief in miracles, and by a remnant of

the rude simplicity of early ages, a work which in all its details contains evidence of the most extraordinary power of invention, and at the same time of the deepest and purest artistic taste, and which throughout breathes life and nature, notwithstanding its sublime grandeur; he cannot have intolerably exaggerated in his colossal marble a representation which, destined as it was for a small painting on a small vessel, and for small and limited circles, was still bold and dangerous; and he cannot have exhibited such a thing to the eyes of all Greece in a spot which, of all others at Athens, was calculated to invite the curiosity of all the admirers of art: it is repugnant to our feelings and impossible to conceive it. But if the comparison of other representations must guide us, we may oppose to the vase-paintings the painting in Philostratus[16], which has been referred to by others also, and the well-known bas-relief which in Jacobs's edition of Philostratus is compared with the painting. In this bas-relief, Hephæstus, who is retiring behind the sitting Zeus, has opened the head; but there is no infant Pallas sitting on the god's head; the composition, in its complete state, probably represented Athena standing in her usual size by the side of Zeus. The painting represented the above-mentioned Rhodian fable, which is related by Pindar; the Athenians and Rhodians were seen at the two ends of the painting offering up sacrifices, each on their own acropolis, at the birth of Pallas. The birth had just taken place, as was indicated by the axe of Hephæstus; and Zeus, whose face was expressive of pain and joy, was speaking to his daughter. This circumstance alone proves that she was not represented small like a new-born infant, which would have been mentioned also by the sophist; but it is still more evident from what he adds, though probably a mere invention of his own, that Hephæstus at once fell in love with Athena, but that he could not win her by such presents as he had at his command, since she was born in armour.

It seems to me much more probable that Zeus had already risen from his throne, on which he gives birth to Athena in vase-paintings in a sitting posture, and that his figure, standing in the centre of the pediment, filled the space up to the summit, which was left free in the other pediment, as Athena and

[16] *Imagin*, II. 27: Παλλάδος γοναί.

Poseidon only approached the centre, and thus divided it between each other. The actual birth was expressed by the god of fire with his axe, perhaps also by Eileithyia—for I am not quite certain whether she was represented—by the manner of Athena's appearance, and by the impression which the novel phenomenon made upon the Olympian gods. The god with the axe was probably not Hephæstus, but the Titan *Prometheus*. It appears to me that it is only with reference to the work of Phidias, that Euripides in his Ion calls Prometheus the "midwife of Zeus[17]." For as at the time of this tragedy the work was quite new, and as the poet looks with pride upon the Parthenon[18] in what he says about the still more recent figures of the metopes and pediment of the Pythian temple, it is scarcely credible that, with regard to a main point like the birth of Athena, and the manner in which it was brought about, he should have differed from Phidias. The idea itself may have been a very old one in the Cerameicus, and it may not have become generally established till the appearance of the work of Phidias, according to which Euripides substituted it as a newly introduced one in the place of the common notion.

A miracle knows of no time, and a growth does not occur in the case of the gods, although they assume different ages. The fact of Pallas issuing from the head of Zeus in full armour, which is said to have been an invention of Stesichorus, the story of Hermes committing a theft while yet in his cradle, and of Apollo stretching out his hand against the dragon, when a new-born child and in the arms of his mother, all these things unanimously express that in the eternal gods there is neither increase nor decrease. But as it was unnecessary to repeat this on every occasion, Athena, in a representation of her birth, could appear in her usual size, provided the moment and manner of her birth were otherwise indicated. There was no interval between the actual birth and her being Athena, that is, being grown up and having the figure of a definite age; this distinction had no existence whatever either in the popular

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[17] *Ion*, 455: Εἰλείθυιαν καὶ ἐμὰν Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω, Προμηθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευθεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας κορυφὰς Διός.

[18] See my dissertation, *Die Vorstellungen der Giebelfelder und Metopen an dem Tempel zu Delphi*, in F. G. Welcker and Ritschl's *Museum für Philologie*, Vol. I. p. 1—28.

belief or in the imagination of the artist. If we will look at the matter in a prosaical way, we must distinguish at least three moments: Hephæstus strikes his blow at the head, the child is issuing from the head, either more or less, and lastly Pallas is born. The new-born goddess might be represented as a little girl, if any religious meaning were implied in it, as in the case of the boy Iacchus; but of such a meaning we know nothing. She might also be represented in her true nature, in order to produce at once the full effect and reverence which her appearance commands. Of these three moments art could, at all events, represent one only: it avoided the first because it would have been displeasing to the eye; the second moment has been taken up, though the birth is no less completely expressed, if the second as well as the first moment was passed over, and the third only was chosen. I should not indeed have dilated so much upon this point, if Gerhard had not seen in the expression of Pausanias (γένεσις) and of the Homeric hymn (γείνατο) a testimony for an *infancy* of Athena, and if he had not found in the simple meaning of a literal testimony a proof that the birth of Athena was represented in the manner which frequently occurs in vase-paintings. The painting in Philostratus bore the inscription Παλλάδος γοναί, although it represented Pallas the virgin.

In what manner the gods of Olympus, into whose circle Athena was introduced, were represented, may be determined, in some measure, at least so far as their number is concerned, by the space and the number of figures in the other pediment, and rational curiosity will not venture any further. At the birth of Aphrodite on the Olympian throne, we can distinguish six pairs of gods, Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Apollo and Artemis, Hermes and Hestia, Athena and Heracles. Ares is not among them, nor Dionysus nor Demeter. Amphitrite, on the other hand, is not placed among the twelve gods, and Aphrodite herself would appear among them as the thirteenth; consequently in these six pairs the number is of no weight, and has no reference to any order or class of gods. Of these twelve gods of the throne, Amphitrite, Heracles, Ares, and Aphrodite, cannot be expected to be found among the witnesses of Athena's birth, because they are present at her dispute with Poseidon. Nor can we look for Demeter, who does not frequently occur either in Olympus or

among the twelve gods. Accordingly we may expect *Hera*, *Apollo*, and *Artemis*, *Poseidon*—by reason of his physical affinity with Athena, he could not have been absent here, but he had a right to appear twice like Athena herself—*Hephæstus*, who is closely connected with Athena by means of another element, and also by that of art, *Hermes* and *Hestia*. In the western pediment we have twenty-two figures, if we exclude the two children and reckon the two couples of horses of the disputing divinities as four figures. In the front pediment we have ten figures, if we reckon Helios and Selene in the corners as only one figure each, just as a river-god and a river-nymph fill the corners in the other pediment. Now if we may suppose that the pediments agreed in the number of figures, twelve must be added to those still extant. If to the seven already mentioned we add *Zeus*, *Athena*, and *Prometheus*, there yet remains room for two more. They might have been *Dionysus* and *Aphrodite*, and it does not appear to me at all improbable that the figure of Aphrodite, which was very popular in the art and poetry of the time, might appear among the Olympian gods, though in a different attitude and differently arrayed from Aphrodite, the daughter of the Sea, who appears in the other pediment. Bröndsted introduces Aphrodite Urania, and also Ares, who, according to his opinion, is not represented at the dispute. But we conceive that, besides Nice, who here joined the Olympian gods, *Eilcithyia* and *Hygiea* were also present. Aphrodite, rising from the sea, was represented by Phidias as surrounded by Eros, who received her, by Charis and Peitho: it is therefore not improbable that he added to his Athena likewise all the divinities, who belonged to her, and among them Hygiea no less than Nice. Pericles had built a temple to Athena Hygiea[19], and the pedestal of a statue dedicated to her has been discovered on the acropolis. Hygiea, it is true, did not minister to Athena alone, but Nice too is not added to her alone, but also to Zeus. To make out the twelve gods as a sacred union is at all events impossible here, for wherever there was a meaning in the dodecatheos, or the twelve gods, Athena always was one of them, and therefore the dodecatheos itself did not exist till she was born, and no one will

[19] Plutarch, *Pericl.* 13; Pausan. I. 23. 5.

assert that we have here a representation of the birth of the dodecatheos. But there is altogether no reason, in an act like this, where all the gods, as far as the space admits of it, form a circle around the new-born one, to think of that particular one among the many varying forms of mythology, which would render it necessary for the beholder to find out, in a series of figures, which are on the whole equally large, those twelve who are just here to form a union, and who by this number, as it were a mysterious link, are to be connected more closely with one another than all the rest. Philostratus says of his painting only, that gods and goddesses, and even rivers and nymphs, were present at the birth of Athena. In vase-paintings the divinities who are present, besides Hephæstus and Eileithyia, vary, and we find Hera, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, Ares, Hermes, Dionysus, or Heracles. Although Athens had one special altar for the twelve gods, yet the influence of that idea does not appear to have had any great practical extent; and which twelve gods were meant is unknown. In the eastern frieze Phidias has represented twelve gods, seven males and five females, and he has grouped them in pairs as spectators of the festive procession; so that three pairs turn towards each of the two sides. In like manner we very frequently find, in the compositions of vase-paintings and bas-reliefs, the gods represented in an upper series of figures as spectators, or as taking part in what is going on. These twelve gods, at all events, are peculiarly chosen, and there can be no doubt that their assemblage, although the symmetry and proportions of the frieze in this case demanded the number twelve, was in some point of view composed ingeniously, and with a certain meaning, according to the relation which the gods bore to one another, to Athens, and to the Panathenæa. It is much to be regretted that the state in which they are preserved, and partly also Carrey's drawings, do not enable us to determine them all with certainty; besides which, most of them seem to be represented intentionally in easy postures and as idle spectators, who have laid aside the instruments or attributes of their power. Mr. Hawkins, who has last examined with great minuteness and care every thing to be considered in these questions, and who has proposed several new and well-founded explanations, justly leaves several pairs without determining their

meaning[20]. The only figures, concerning which there can be no possible doubt, are *Demeter* and *Triptolemus*, *Hera* with *Hebe* (there is indeed no distinct trace in the marble of a wing), and *Zeus* in the second and third places, beginning at the left of the beholder; the *two Dioscuri* in the first are probable according to their position, their backs being turned against each other, which distinguishes them from the other pairs; and it is scarcely possible to prove that any difference of age is expressed in the forms of their bodies. After Zeus and Hera there follow *Hygiea* and *Asclepius*, if not Aphrodite and Hephæstus[21]; then, according to Visconti, *Poseidon* with *Theseus*, which, if correct, would be just as important for the group of the western pediment, as if, according to the supposition of Mr. Hawkins, Hermes and Heracles were meant instead of the Dioscuri; lastly, which however is very doubtful, Aglauros and Pandrosos, with Erechtheus as a grown boy. Demeter, on the other side, who is known by her torch, does not allow us here to think of Demeter with Persephone and Iacchus. The figures are not meant for Artemis and Apollo.

To go beyond the number of the gods whom we may suppose to have been assembled in the group of our pediment, and to venture upon conjectures respecting the arrangement, character, and expression of the several divinities, would be an idle attempt. There is a wide difference between carefully tracing the thoughts of such a genius in the remnants of his works, and venturing to guess at them even where every vestige is lost. Nor do I feel inclined to make use, for such a purpose, of the fancies of unknown painters and mediocre writers. One vase-painter, for example, represents Artemis as exclaiming for joy, and Hephæstus, after he has struck the blow, as running away for fear of Zeus; in the picture described by Philostratus, the well-known desires of Hephæstus awaken as soon as he sees Pallas, and Hera delights in her, as though she were her own daughter. Such things, and especially petty and naive expressions, the ordinary *finesses*, and all striving after effect, which

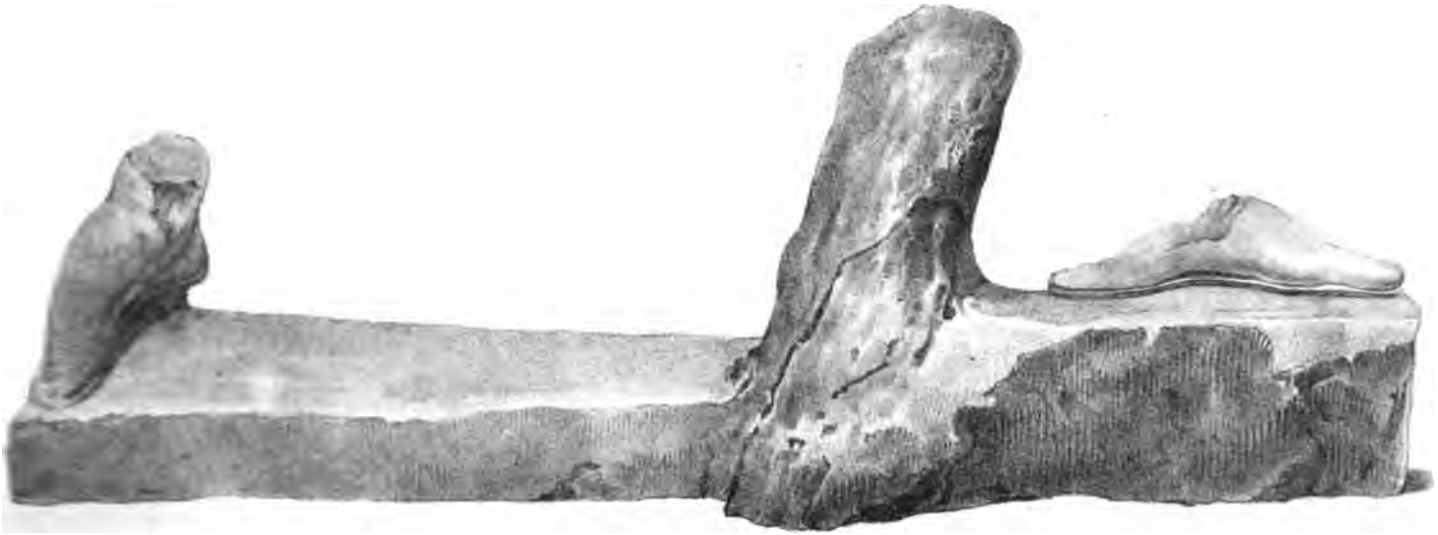
[20] *British Museum*, Vol. VIII. pl. 1, 2, 4.

[21] The fact of this figure being without sandals, like Triptolemus, seems to speak in favour of the opinion that it is Hephæstus. The Dioscuri have sandals, and those of Hygiea or Aphrodite are not lower than those of Zeus, and in general no trace of difference is to be seen between the sandals or shoes in the male and female figures.

may be calculated upon by common experience, are far removed from the originality and greatness of Phidias, which were united with such exalted simplicity. The impression which the whole made was perhaps like that which is described in the Homeric words, σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὁρῶντας.

There is extant a singular fragment, which certainly does not induce us to add one figure to either composition, but which nevertheless cannot be passed over here. According to a conjecture of Colonel Leake, in the first edition of his Topography of Athens[22], Mr. Cockerell has made use of it for the figure of Pallas in the scene of her birth. The two feet—they are fixed upon a slab of marble—of a colossal figure in a striding attitude, which is commonly given to Athena when she is at war, have been taken, in connection with the stump of a tree in the middle between the two feet, for a fragment of Athena with the olive-tree, and the fragment I have referred to above, to the Hippocampæ, has been connected with the serpent which winds around the olive-tree, and appears on coins which briefly indicate the dispute by the figures of the two divinities, Poseidon with his trident and Athena with the olive-tree. But as in the drawings of Carrey not a trace is to be seen of this tree, it has been transplanted to the pediment which represents the birth of Athena. The serpent, however, in this fragment is thicker than the alleged stump of a tree. The olive-tree, as Mr. Millingen remarks, which came to stand before the goddess, could not have been sufficiently high to be seen from below; and, what is more decisive, that stump cannot possibly have been part of the olive-tree of Pallas. Any one may practically and easily convince himself of this impossibility, if he will put his left foot upon the extant left foot which is turned sideways, and his right foot upon the other of the marble base, which stands straight forward in the same position. He will then find that the stump interferes just with the beginning of the calf of the leg. It would therefore necessarily have been covered by the garment of Pallas, even supposing it had taken a different direction at the point where it came in collision with the calf.

[22] p. 254. In the *Synopsis of the contents of the British Museum*, N. 256, however, the fragment is assigned to Athena in the western pediment, or in her dispute with Poseidon, probably because the olive-tree was thought unfit for the other pediment, and that with justice. But in the western pediment the goddess put her right foot forward and the left one backward.



A Fragment of the Eastern Pediment

The fragment can have belonged only to a naked male figure, which the stump served to support, and the position of Poseidon in the western pediment is precisely the one indicated by the position of those feet, and some support for the heavy weight of this statue has nothing at all improbable. A similar support is still seen in Carrey's drawings, where it is given to the horses of Nice, which, by reason of their weight, could not have existed without it. Müller thought that this disfiguring stone was not put in till the time when the hooks and iron bands by which the horses were fastened to the wall of the pediment had become destroyed by rust[23]. But from the portions of work in the western pediment which have remained unmoved, it is clear and certain that the statues were not fastened to the wall, but stood sufficiently firm by their own weight, a fact which Mr. Cockerell notices as wonderful in the highest degree[24]. An exception to this rule, which could not be applied throughout, would thus appear to have been made in the case of the striding male figure, as in that of the horses of Nice. But the feet are not large enough for Poseidon, and they also appear to be more fit for a female figure. Mr. Cockerell estimates the height of the figure to which they belonged at between eight and nine feet,—the same height which he assigns to the figures of Nice and Iris (whom I call Oreithyia). Poseidon, on the other hand, is estimated according to the remnants and his position next to the centre of the pediment, at twelve, and Athena by his side at between eleven and twelve English feet. The space which is occupied by the feet is one-third larger than that measured by Oreithyia, who is represented running. The left foot itself is one and two-thirds of a Roman palm or thirty-seven centimeters long, and not much larger than that which is visible in the sitting figure of Aglauros[25]. It exhibits traces of that brownish red colour which the marble of the Parthenon has acquired from the air on some sides of the

[23] *De Phidiæ Vita*, p. 90. When in p. 91 the author objects that he had seen nothing of the stump, he relied too much upon his notes, in which the stump must have been wanting; and what he quotes from those notes (*quantum ego notavi*), that the feet were covered with leather, and therefore probably belonged to a statue of the Roman time, sufficiently shews that he had not devoted any attention to the subject.

[24] *British Museum*, Tom. VI. p. 20.

[25] In the *Synopsis*, N. 340, where the fore part of a colossal foot is discussed, it is conjectured that it may have belonged to one of the figures in the pediment, but it is too large almost by one-half to have belonged to them.

columns, and also very unequally in the friezes and elsewhere. It must be observed that it is not expressly stated or known of any of the fragments as to where they were found, whether in the front or at the back of the temple. This is the case generally, not only with the piece under consideration[26], but with the interesting fragment of the face of Athena[27]. Every thing considered, I cannot help believing that the marble slab with the two feet really belonged to the figure of Pallas in the eastern pediment, and that by its falling down or by other accidents the projecting piece of marble, which however shews no trace of having been cut round or intentionally shaped, broke from the mass of the robe, which fell straight down, and occupied the middle of the statue, and has thus remained standing. It accordingly furnishes at the same time an external proof of the fact that Phidias had retained in his Pallas the attitude of a warrior goddess, and by the proportions of the feet we may approximately determine the place which the new-born goddess occupied in the circle of the gods. Thus far I must agree with Mr. Cockerell, who however has neglected to examine the question respecting the olive-tree.

The Western or Back Pediment.

Athena here appears clearly and decidedly as the conqueror of Poseidon, by the fact of her being turned towards her chariot. The chariots stand behind the disputants, according to the ancient custom, which is seen in innumerable works of art; the trial is treated like a contest. Poseidon, according to the ancient story in Herodotus[28], had appealed to the salt-spring, which gushed forth in the Erechtheum, and Athena to the olive-tree, and the verdict is pronounced in her favour; she is the rightful owner of Attica. The manner in which the dispute was begun and concluded, is entirely beyond our repre-

[26] *British Museum*, in pl. 8, p. 6, and in pl. 20: "in the ruins of the pediment." But of which pediment?

[27] *Ibid.* pl. 18: "near the tample." The epidromis is extremely well preserved, but no trace is to be seen of a coat of encaustic painting.

[28] Herod. VIII. 50, whose statement accords with Pausanias (I. 26. 6, 27. 2) and Apollodorus (III. 14. 1), who is the first that gives a more complete account of the mythical circumstances. Ovid (*Metam.* VI. 70) alters the story to suit his fancy, for according to him the two gods had already commenced their dispute, when Zeus made them display their respective arts, in order that he might decide upon their claims accordingly.

sentation, and may be indifferent to us, though it is not unknown. Apollodorus, the Athenian, relates that, in the reign of Cecrops, the first King of Athens, which was then still called Cecropia, the gods determined to distribute among themselves the towns, in which every one of them should have his peculiar honours. Poseidon was the first that came to Attica, where he thrust his trident into the ground on the acropolis, so that the salt-spring gushed forth. After him came Athena, who planted the olive-tree, shewn in the Pandrosion, and took Cecrops as her witness. The dispute which arose between the two divinities was settled by Zeus, who gave them the twelve gods as judges. According to an ancient tradition, they were the judges in the case of Orestes also, and Apollodorus declares this to be the true account. We cannot say that Phidias deviates from the well-known legend, or that he contradicts it in any point; any more than that he pre-supposes the presence of the twelve gods as invisible beings; but he treats the judicial scene, as well as the still earlier act, viz. the convocation of the court by Zeus, as things that are past. He takes up the action, as I have said, at the moment when Athena hastens to her chariot. The chariot is conducted by Nice, the *goddess of victory*, who is inseparable from Athena, and whose figure here occupies so prominent a position, that Spon and Wheler took her for the principal personage, that is, for Athena herself. How could the goddess, who is at this moment on the point of ascending her chariot, the chariot of victory, be doubtful? Poseidon does not drive his trident into the rocky soil *now* to make the salt-spring gush forth, any more than the victorious goddess is *now* calling forth the olive-tree, as Bröndsted thinks. Nor is Poseidon disputing; for this act too is past, and the vehemence of his action is the consequence of the decision; he is indignant, and it is very natural that he is not in the same haste as his conqueror to occupy his chariot. The tradition in Apollodorus and others describes him as enraged, hence he visited the Thriasian plain with an inundation. He placed Attica "below the sea," which means the small lake of salt water, which still attracts the attention of every traveller on the road to Eleusis. This lake thus receives its mythical explanation, and the magnifying expression that Poseidon made Attica ὕφαλον resembles the name of the salt-spring θάλασσα Ἐρεχθηΐς.

The figure by the side of Athena's horses is probably *Ares*, partly because he is always closely connected with Athena, and his presence here heightens the impression of her victory upon the beholder, and partly because the trunk of this figure, which is preserved, together with a part of its thighs, belongs to a strong and well-wrought body, such as would exactly suit Ares, especially by the side of a figure like that of Athena, the character of which may still be seen in the extant fragment of the upper part of her body. In the great fragment of Ares we still perceive the same turn of the neck, which we find in the drawing.

Let us now proceed, first on Poseidon's side. The chariot of *Amphitrite* was drawn by *Hippocampæ*, or sea-horses. This is certain, from the fact of the whole figure of a dolphin being visible under the foot of the goddess; her chariot therefore was halting in the water, for which reason it was undoubtedly shaped quite differently from that of Nice, and just as different were the Hippocampæ from the horses, so that a beautiful variety was produced. This is fully confirmed by a fragment of the serpent-like legs of the animals[29], which is of such a thickness that it cannot possibly have belonged to the serpent of Erichthonius, which, according to Mr. Cockerell's opinion, was entwined around the olive tree of Athena. The nakedness of her leg is very characteristic of a goddess riding through the sea. The Hippocampæ, together with the chariot, were probably removed at the time when Christian masons executed the work in the centre of the pediment which we see in the drawing of Carrey.

The three goddesses who follow after Amphitrite, are *Leucothea* with her son *Melicertes*, in honour of whom a much-frequented festival was celebrated on the neighbouring isthmus, *Aphrodite* with *Eros*, the former sitting on the knee of her mother *Dione*. It was one of the most perverse conjectures in this field, which is so rich in explanations, to suppose that the first of these goddesses was Latona with her two children. The children are of unequal size, which is incompatible with the fact of their being twins[30]. The one whom I call Meli-

[29] It is mentioned in the *Synopsis of the contents of the British Museum*, No. 102, and figured in pl. 2.

[30] Müller, in the last page of his above-mentioned treatise, supposes that the larger figure is Artemis, probably on account of the tradition that Artemis was born first, and that she, as Eileithyia,

certes is a full-grown boy, standing by the side of his mother, by whose cloak he was half covered, as may be seen from the portion of his body which is preserved on the left side of the fragment of the goddess. If Phidias had deemed this a fit place for Apollo and Artemis, he would certainly not have represented their birth, which must necessarily be meant by a Leto with her children in her arms. However the drawing shews distinctly enough, that the children do not belong to one but to two goddesses of the group. This fact also refutes Bröndsted's opinion that *Ge* κουροτρόφος is represented here by the side of Poseidon, her protector. I should farther remark, that *Ge*, whom I should not look for in this connection with other divinities, does not exactly stand under the protection and influence of Poseidon as *Ge* κουροτρόφος, and that in this capacity she is usually united with very different divinities. Aphrodite is naked, as the goddess born from the sea, and because she is here introduced among marine divinities; but she is not completely naked, for some drapery is lying across her left leg, and covers her lap. Eros alone would certainly have sufficed to indicate the goddess of love; but Phidias took the opportunity of gracing his work, which is adorned with several male figures completely naked, also by the beauty of a youthful female form. Mr. Millingen has expressed some doubts as to the correctness of this explanation, because it is said that Praxiteles was the first who represented Aphrodite naked. But in works of art there is a wide difference between entire nakedness and the nakedness of the greater part of the body, and there is just as great a difference between a temple-statue consecrated for worship, and a figure placed among a number of others as an object of admiration and as an ornament of a temple. It is a fact that there is here an almost naked goddess—a goddess only can be conceived in this place—and to which goddess is nakedness more appropriate than to Aphrodite? We thus see in this instance also how cautiously we should receive statements respecting priority. The manner in which Aphrodite is grouped together with her mother is extremely curious, as though the artist had wished to allude to

delivered her mother of her twin-brother. But this tradition was probably current only among midwives or other particular worshippers of the Brauronian goddess, and, at all [illegible] mathematical allusion to [illegible] have suited Phid[illegible].

the width and depth of the first causes, and to the powers and the mysterious forms of Greek theology. The next goddess is in my opinion no other than *Peitho*, who was represented on the pedestal of the Olympian throne in the act of crowning Aphrodite as she rose from the sea, and who appears so often as her companion and minister. There was an ancient temple at Athens, said to have been built by Theseus, containing two wooden images of Aphrodite and Peitho[31]. As Aphrodite is added to the empire of Poseidon, it is still further extended by the representation of a divinity who is most closely connected with Aphrodite, and there is no necessity for looking for any other marine divinity behind Aphrodite, such as Galene or Thetis, whom some antiquaries have introduced here.

The divinities on the other side of the pediment, who correspond with those of the side just explained, present themselves, as it were, at once, as *Demeter*, *Iacchus*, and *Persephone*. Iacchus is indicated by his age, which lies between that of a boy and a young man, and by his nakedness, but more especially by a comparison with the small figures, which form a whole series, and were discovered a few years ago in the temple of Athena Polias; but they are yet little known. This mystic connection with the goddesses is expressed by his throwing himself into the lap of Demeter, the sitting goddess, and by Persephone at the same time drawing him towards herself. The gods of Eleusis were from the earliest times of great importance in Attica, and their worship was so highly peculiar to the country, that they could not be absent from the circle of the goddess who gave to the country its name, and was its Polias. It is moreover a favourite custom to contrast the divinities of the earth with those of the sea, and the former stand also in a close relation to Athena, as the goddess of the ethereal warmth and of the blessing of fields, in which capacities she was worshipped in many places, and from which she received even particular names.

The next group tells us most strikingly that the figures are *Heracles* and *Hebe*. The goddess puts her arm around the neck and her hand on the shoulder of her husband, who is reclining and looking at her with affection. The garment has slipped down from one of her breasts, whereby the artist cha-

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[31] Pausan, I. 22. 3.

racterized the goddess, and expressed her full bloom of youth. The close bond between Heracles and Athena is now well known, from numerous monuments which have been brought to light in modern times, and for the explanation of which we are particularly indebted to Dr. Emil Braun. Thus a vase-painting of Phrynus represents on the one side the birth of Athena, and on the other Athena introducing Heracles to Zeus, that is, into Olympus. There are three paintings in which Heracles is present even at the birth of Athena. This indicates an extravagant zeal for his divinity, inasmuch as it was particularly developed in his connection with Athena; but Phidias himself represented him on the pedestal of the Olympian throne, among the witnesses of Aphrodite rising from the sea, and as forming with Athena the highest pair of divinities. In the ancient large patera of Sosias, which is in the museum of Berlin, Heracles is one of the twelve gods, just as in the Capitoline puteal. In the group of our pediment too he must be conceived as a god, which is clear from the figure of Hebe. There cannot be the least doubt as to the propriety of introducing him into this circle of divinities; he is represented with sufficient distinctness by his figure, face, and beard, and especially by his being grouped together with Hebe[32].

No similar pair offered itself for the corresponding place on the other side; but at least the male figure by the side of Poseidon, which corresponds with Heracles by the side of Athena, must have belonged in general to the same class, or have had some particular relation to him. And it is impossible to find

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[32] See the large drawing in Stuart (Tom. II. ch. i. pl. 9), who saw this splendid group in a more perfect condition. It has been left in its place, but afterwards suffered much injury. It is said that the head of the male figure was taken away in 1803, and that more than one block of marble fell down from the western pediment during an earthquake in 1805. Stuart's drawing led Colonel Leake, in the second edition of his *Topography of Athens*, p. 539, to the belief that something is wanting between Ilissus and the group [illegible] and Hebe, in whom, as w[illegible] racles, he sees an old At[illegible] from the drawing of Carrey it is clear that only the piece of the cornice before which there was a vacant space in the group, had given way in the time of Stuart; and I convinced myself, in the pediment of the Parthenon itself, and standing close by the remnants of the group, that between it and Ilissus there was not room for another whole figure. Nor can I agree with those who believe that even before the time of Carrey a figure, which Colonel Leake calls Ilissus, had fallen down at the other end, be[illegible] us, as I call him, or Ce[illegible] to Colonel Leake, and

any other that could have been placed by his side with greater justice than *Theseus*. As he is a son of Ægeus, he is at the same time closely connected with Poseidon himself, whose son he is even called[33]. Popular poetry had become accustomed to compare him to the Doric Heracles, and placed him by his side. Being the only hero in this assemblage, he is raised as it were to the rank of a god, as indeed the transportation of his remains from Scyros to Athens, which had taken place not very long before, and every thing connected with that event, had raised his worship as a hero so as to make it approach that of a god. As there was no goddess to be joined to him, Peitho was added instead to the preceding group of divinities, but by her somewhat greater distance from the sitting Theseus the artist made the relation of the female figure to Aphrodite striking to the eye of the beholder, and prevented her being considered as connected with Theseus. Visconti took this figure for the hero Colonus, Colonel Leake for Ares, Quatremère for Bacchus (with Libera, as he interpreted the Callirrhoë in the corner), Müller for Halirrhothius, and Bröndsted for Cephissus.

The figures in the corners, as has been recognized already by Visconti, are *Ilissus* and the sacred well *Callirrhoë* in his vicinity. The figure of the former is obviously more indicative of a river-god than of Theseus. Phidias seems to have chosen these male and female figures to correspond with Helios and Selene in the other pediment, for he might have chosen Cephissus, just as Pæonius placed Alpheius and Cladrus in the two corners of the front pediment of the Olympian temple. But Phidias would certainly not have placed Cephissus in any other part of the pediment than where he has represented Ilissus; he would not have chosen the place which we assign to Theseus, nor would he have chosen his attitude for a river-god. Bröndsted took Theseus for Ilissus, and he accordingly might be uncertain as to whether the figure in the corner was meant for Callirrhoë or Praxithea. The relation of the two corner figures to each other, as river-god and a nymph of a well, is beyond all doubt.

The only ones, among all these personages, whose attention is directed towards the decision of the dispute, are Nice on the

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[33] Pausan. I. 7. 3.

part of Athena, who however is perhaps looked at by Ares with sympathy, and Amphitrite, Thetis, and Dione on the part of Poseidon. The three Eleusinian divinities are, as it were, a distinct group: this is quite evident, although their heads are wanting. In like manner Leucothea and Aphrodite on the knee of Dione, are sitting quietly by themselves. Heracles seems to look at Hebe; the attitude of Theseus betrays no particular emotion, and the repose prevailing in these parts of the pediment forms a contrast with the excited movement of Athena towards the chariot, and with the angry indignation of Poseidon; and this repose of the divine personages by themselves is altogether in accordance with their dignity and majesty. Ilissus, as Mr. Millingen remarks, is rising with joy at the victory of Athena, although he is lying with his face turned away from her, and Callirrhoë is lifting up her arm: these two represent Athens. The sitting Theseus does not seem to turn towards Callirrhoë.

With regard to the group of the western pediment, I cannot pass over in silence the dissertation which C. O. Müller wrote upon it in his early life, and to which my explanations are so strongly opposed[34]. He took the chariot of Athena, and the male figure which is visible by the side of the horses, as his starting points; as the dispute itself is not represented, for there is no olive-tree, and Poseidon does not make the well gush forth; Pallas, moreover, turns away from Poseidon, and directs her thoughts to something quite different: again, as the trial cannot be represented, on account of the attitudes of the figures, and because the trial was not a fit subject for representation, Müller thought that the testimony of Pausanias must be put aside, and that we must explain the groups by means of the figures themselves. But to give up Pausanias (*misso tantisper Pausania*), who here expresses himself upon a work known to all the world, and according to the opinion of all the world, is worse than what Gerhard does, who clings too much to one particular word of Pausanias in his attempt to explain the other pediment. Müller reads in the figures the tale of the ancients, that Erichthonius, at the suggestion of Athena, first yoked horses to the war-chariot; and he believes that Phidias here represented that idea alone. One thing, he

[34] *De Phidiæ Vita et Operibus*, Göttingen, 1827.

says, is indeed surprising, viz. that Poseidon is admitted into the group, and that consequently the dispute about the country of Attica, of which mythology and Pausanias speak, appears continued, extended, and completed in a manner, of which the ancients tell us nothing. But many ancient fables, he says, remain unknown to us. The continuation of the dispute consists, according to him, in the fact that Athena conquered and subdued the animal, which Poseidon, himself a tamer of horses, had created, and that afterwards she conquered Poseidon again by the chariot. It is inconceivable how Müller could rest satisfied with an explanation so thoroughly unfortunate, and one which destroys all connection, all harmony, unity and beauty of a composition of Phidias. The mythus itself, which is assumed to support this destructive explanation, is forced, cold, and altogether opposed to Greek genius. His subsequent conjectures, too, for example, that the Hecatompedon was built for the celebration of the Panathenæa; that the invention of Erichthonius contained an allusion to the origin of the Panathenæa, as he himself had gained the first victory in them, and that the Panathenæa were founded upon the completion of Athena's victory over Poseidon by means of the chariot, in which the first victory was gained, just as other games were founded upon other victories: all these conjectures must be rejected, because we have no evidence for any thing of the kind. A more ancient and better tradition seems to be that which ascribes the institution of the Panathenæa to Theseus[35]. Suffice it to remind the reader, that some god always assists in the inventions and exploits of heroes, and that he always appears as a subordinate personage, when such inventions or feats are represented; and consequently, that if "the quadriga of Erichthonius" were represented, he himself would necessarily stand forth as the principal figure, and every part of the composition would have reference to him. When the gods teach any thing, the act is not represented in art exactly as a spiritual inspiration, by their silent presence. Demeter, for example, hands the ears of corn to Triptolemus; and Athena herself, when she teaches Ægyptus or Argus to build or equip the first ship, hoists the sails. But in our case a virgin, and not Erechtheus, is in the chariot, and guides the horses, while he himself is said only to

[35] Pausan. VIII. 2. 1.

hold the whip, like the one of the Molionidæ, who, however, were grown together, and therefore obliged to share the function of charioteer. Athena, on the other hand, is said to hold the horses by a thong, different from the bridle, and to restrain them in their course, just as a groom leads the victorious horse by a second bridle. But this is not the place for the goddess; she ought rather to stand in the chariot by the side of Erichthonius[36]. And what can be the object of the virgin in the chariot? and why is this virgin Nice? as Erichthonius was to be represented as an inventor and not as a conqueror. Art loves to suggest many and great things by few means; it does not accumulate or lavish different means upon one subject, and the art of Phidias was surely as free and ingenious in this respect as that of any other. However, the figure of Ares cannot be an Erichthonius, for his attitude is not that of a charioteer. Instead of looking forward or towards the horses his eyes are directed towards Victory; and instead of holding a whip his arm is sunk downwards; so that it is concealed behind the horses. If we compare Carrey's drawing, either in Stuart's work, or in the copy in the *British Museum*, we may easily convince ourselves that the figure was decidedly not intended to represent a person managing the horses. Moreover, as Thetis on the side of Poseidon corresponds with our figure, we may justly suppose that it represents a god. The figure which I have taken for Peitho is called by Müller Ceres, and he believes that the small space in Carrey's drawing between Ceres and the next naked male figure was occupied by

[36] In Aristides, *Panath.* p. 184, we read, ἵππων ἁμιλλητηρίων καὶ πολεμιστηρίων ἔφηνεν ὀχήματα καὶ ζευγνύσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ὁ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πάρεδρος ἅρμα τέλειον σὺν τῇ θεῷ, and the last words express only the assistance of the goddess, the spiritual inspiration or help, as is so often the case with the expressions σὺν θεῷ and σὺν θεοῖς. According to the other passage in *Min.* p. 22, Ἐρεχθεὺς πρῶτος παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἅρμα ἐδέξατο, she gives him the chariot, and leaves the rest to him. The words of the scholiast on the first passage, however, do not refer to Phidias, as Müller thought, according to the explanation he gives, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀπίσω αὐτῆς (τῆς θεοῦ) γέγραπται ἅρμα ἐλαύνων, ὡς πρῶτος τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δεξάμενος, but they allude to a painting, in which Erichthonius, and not Nice, was the charioteer, and the goddess preceded, in order to indicate that she had taught him the art, which he was exercising, either by word of mouth, or by inspiration; so that it became necessary to pervert not merely the word γέγραπται, but all the other words, in order to make the sentence refer to the statues of Phidias. But we see from this passage at least in what manner an artist had to conceive this mythus.

Proserpina, because the Eleusinian goddesses, connected as they were with Poseidon through Eumolpus, could, in his opinion, scarcely have been wanting in the suite of Poseidon, by which this side of the pediment is occupied. But are we justified in arbitrarily inserting a whole figure into the composition which is perfectly preserved in the drawing, merely for a mythological reason? Is it not more natural to suppose that the draughtsman, in separating one figure from another, went somewhat beyond the actual proportion? In the place where I see Demeter, Iacchus, Persephone, and Hebe, Müller and Colonel Leake, who in this respect follow Bröndsted, find Herse, Pandrosos, Erysichthon, and Aglauros. Independently of the circumstance that we have a right to look for the representation of the three sisters, who represent the dew, in the front pediment, where nobody has sought them, Müller's view seems to me untenable for the following reasons: the three sisters who are here represented only in their personal character, and not in action as in the above-mentioned vase-painting of the rape of Oreithyia, must present themselves at once as sisters and be grouped together; and there is no reason why the father should embrace and affectionately look at Herse alone, or why she should be distinguished by having one breast uncovered. Further, Erysichthon it is true is mentioned as a son of Cecrops, but according to his special significance, he is quite a stranger and subordinate among the persons whom we must expect to find here. And why should not Erysichthon be grown up like his sisters? Why is he a boy? The motive, lastly, according to which this boy is taking to flight from fear of the horses, is not merely improbable, but unworthy of Phidias, like all petty accessories, such as hidden allusions, naive or witty fancies, by which art in a state of over-refinement endeavours to adorn itself. The sister who, according to this view, keeps back her fleeing brother, is thus likewise degraded into something insignificant. That which Müller sets forth as a general ground for his explanation, viz. that the honour of Athens necessarily demanded the representation of the Attic heroes on this side, is by no means a necessary supposition, but rather shews itself as a completely mistaken notion. But what is most opposed to the spirit of the whole composition is, that Müller introduces at the other end of the pediment an insignificant and obscene fable, namely, that of

Halirrhotius and his mother Euryte,—Halirrhotius who violates Alcippe, the daughter of Ares and Aglauros, and is caught and put to death by her father. If this story had been represented, the artist would at least have placed Alcippe rather than the mother of Halirrhotius by his side.

There are at Athens some fragments of statues belonging to the pediments of the Parthenon; they are scattered about in several rooms destined for the temporary preservation of a great many but unequal fragments brought to light on the acropolis. They may, perhaps, in future throw some additional light upon one or the other of these figures; for hitherto they have not been examined, and perhaps not even mentioned. It does not appear that the representations in the metopes below the pediments had any reference to the groups within the pediments; they were connected among themselves, and with those on the southern and northern sides.

I have mentioned the previous explanations as much as appeared requisite in the course of my investigation; complete accounts of them are given in a tabular form by Reuvens, in a paper in the *Classical Journal*, and by Millingen in the review before mentioned. The names of many gods and heroes there cross one another in various ways; so that nearly all of those actually represented by Phidias do occur, but in places to which they do not appear to belong. Some of the explanations here proposed as differing from those which have now become established, have been attempted also by one or the other of my predecessors. Mr. Millingen, for example, called the two Horæ Thallo and Auxo, as he could not admit the figure which Bröndsted considered to be the third of the Horæ; Gerhard, following Visconti, changes them again into Demeter and Persephone. Peitho and Aphrodite were rightly named by Colonel Leake. Mr. Millingen also is in favour of the opinion that Zeus was represented in a standing attitude, and he remarks that, considering the size of the figure, the knees and feet of a sitting Zeus would have come too much forward, and would have produced a bad effect; for he also is convinced that Zeus was not represented in the act of giving birth, and that Athena appeared as a full-grown virgin, as in fact the subject had b[illegible] conceived as early as the time of Barbié du Bocage, and w[illegible] few exceptions by all who have hitherto expressed their o[illegible] upon it. Prometheus is in reality the only figure th[illegible]

borrowed, and that from Bröndsted, though he seems to me to be mistaken in supposing that Phidias made use of Prometheus and Hephæstus for the same object, because Apollodorus says that Prometheus, and according to others Hephæstus also, opened the head of Zeus. Mythographers usually unite the variations of a mythus in this manner into one statement; but in art the repetition of the same motive in several persons is, like every thing superfluous, poor and empty. In the back pediment Quatremère de Quincy saw, as I do, Heracles and Hebe, who, according to Visconti, were Hephæstus and Aphrodite, and, according to Müller and Bröndsted, Cecrops and Herse. Quatremère likewise recognized Demeter, Iacchus, and Persephone, and also Ares by the side of the chariot of Nice, which figure was taken by Visconti for Cecrops, and by Müller, Bröndsted, and Colonel Leake, for Erechtheus or Erichthonius. The chariot of Amphitrite was supposed by Bröndsted to have been drawn by Hippocampæ; and Wilkins, in Walpole's *Travels*, suggested that they might be two dolphins.

XXV.

ON ENGLISH GRAMMARS.

No one who has directed his attention to the study of English Grammar, can have failed to perceive the strong predilection which all our writers on that subject have shewn for the use of the forms of the ancient languages. In fact, the system adopted by all our English grammarians is little more than a servile imitation of those forms and technicalities which belong peculiarly to Latin and Greek, and are altogether unsuited to the genius and character of the English language. It is not a little remarkable, however, that there is scarcely one of these writers who, at the same time that he adopts the ancient forms, and endeavours to mould our language to them, does not strongly deprecate the practice of explaining one language by the forms of another, and inveigh against the introduction into English Grammar of technicalities which are not strictly appli-

cable to the English tongue. Dr. Wallis, in the preface to his grammar, first published in 1653, speaking of the writers on English Grammar who had preceded him, says: "At nemo eorum, quantum ego existimo, illâ insistit viâ quæ huic negotio maxime est accommodata: omnes enim ad Latinæ linguæ normam hanc nostram Anglicanam nimium exigentes, (quo etiam errore laborant fere omnes in aliis modernis linguis tradendis,) multa inutilia præcepta de nominum casibus, generibus, et declinationibus; atque verborum temporibus, modis, et conjugationibus; de nominum item et verborum regimine, aliisque similibus tradiderunt, *quæ linguæ nostræ sunt prorsus aliena*, adeoque confusionem potius et obscuritatem pariunt, quam explicationi inserviunt." Notwithstanding this opinion, pretty intelligibly expressed, we find in the course of his work a chapter specially dedicated to the discussion, "De sede vocis nominativæ et accusativæ, aliisque ad verborum syntaxin spectantibus." It would not be difficult to point out similar inconsistencies in most of those who have written on the subject since the author above quoted.

Murray's, the most popular of all English Grammars, is quite as obnoxious as any other to the same charge, though its author, like the others, strongly objects to confounding the principles and arrangement of the Greek and Latin grammarians with those of English. However, he not only speaks of nominative, possessive, and objective cases, and declensions of substantives; but also of active, passive, and neuter verbs; and many of his rules for construction are nothing but literal translations from the Eton Latin Syntax, as may be easily proved by a reference to Rules I., IV., V., VI., VII., X., XI., &c., &c.

The point in which most of the northern languages of Europe differ from those of antiquity is well known to consist in the manner in which they, respectively, express circumstance, the former employing connecting particles and auxiliary verbs, where the latter used inflection. The modern languages, however, possessed much more inflection some centuries back than they do at present; and though the system is almost extinct in many of them, it is still retained by some to a considerable extent. The more of inflection remains, the nearer do the forms of such languages approach those of antiquity; and the less of inflection they retain, the farther do they depart from

the structure of the ancient tongues. Now, of all the northern languages of Europe, there is not one which is at this day so scanty in inflection as the modern English; for which reason there is not one so far removed in structure from the southern European dialects, and to which, therefore, the system of Latin or Greek Grammar is so little applicable.

It may not be uninteresting to inquire into some of the causes of the violence to which English has been subjected, in the attempts made by our grammarians to mould it in a form for which it has no accommodating power.

When it is remembered that the task of compiling English Grammars would naturally fall into the hands of the learned, it will not be surprising that in their want of knowledge respecting the forms and character of English, they would make use of terms already so familiar to them in the grammars of those languages they had, till then, made their exclusive study. It should be also borne in mind, that it was not till early in the seventeenth century that any attention was bestowed on our language as a subject of philology, and that then the enthusiasm with which the recovered treasures of antiquity had been received in Europe had not abated. This, together with the strong prejudice in favour of classical studies which then prevailed, may naturally account for the comparative neglect with which scholars, in other European countries as well as in England, treated their mother-tongue. When, however, from the efforts of later writers, our language became more fixed and polished, it unfortunately happened that the grammarians of the time were so little acquainted with that dialect whence the main body of our language is derived, that they were wholly incompetent to perform the task they had undertaken; it is, then, no wonder that they abused the knowledge they possessed, and that from a prejudice in favour of antiquated forms, together with their ignorance of the character of the Saxon portion of our language, they should have produced the Anglo-Latin Grammars which have existed among us, with but slight improvements, up to the present time.

But whatever causes may have operated in producing this effect on our grammars, we have no longer an excuse for retaining these forms. A thorough reformation in this department of our literature is loudly called for. The labours of the indefatigable scholars of Germany have already pointed out

the way for us; in addition to which, the publication of Dr. Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary offers great advantages to those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the basis of our language. Saxon Grammars of a more elementary and practical nature are still wanting, as well as familiar exercises on the accidence; for the Anglo-Saxon should form a part of the system of education in all our grammar-schools, and should be universally studied in conjunction with modern English. There is no doubt that such a practice would contribute more towards a proper understanding of the idiom and structure of English, than all the English Grammars in existence.

It is, indeed, somewhat surprising that the study of Anglo-Saxon should have been, and should continue to be, so much neglected in this country. This is the more remarkable, when it is remembered that the English language, notwithstanding the many innovations it has experienced, is at this moment in form and idiom essentially Saxon; and that to this day nine-tenths of the words it contains are derived from Teutonic roots. It is a notorious fact, that with some few exceptions, we are in total ignorance of the elements of Saxon Grammar; and it is most unpardonable that we should continue in such ignorance of a language which is the parent-stem of our own, the cherished birthright of those ancestors from whom we have received all our most time-honoured institutions, and to whose influence the very character and habits of our nation are to this day mainly indebted. Professor Ingram has declared, that "a few hours dedicated to Saxon literature will be sufficient to overthrow the authority of every dictionary and grammar of the English language that has been hitherto published." Professor Rask also, of Copenhagen, in the preface to his Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, which has been translated from the Danish by Mr. Thorpe, says, "It is to the English philologist that the Anglo-Saxon, as being his old national tongue, is of the greatest moment. To him it is precisely what Icelandic is to the modern Scandinavians, and Latin to the Italians. The English language consists, it is true, of many foreign components, particularly French and Latin; but these tongues are sufficiently known, and the origin of the words borrowed from them is easy to trace, while all the original part of the language is Anglo-Saxon, and can, for the most part. *only be satisfactorily illustrated by its aid,* though the

tongues, as well as the Icelandic, are in this respect of great utility."

The writer of the above remarks was lately requested by a friend to recommend him an English Grammar for the use of his son. A perusal of this article will easily suggest to the reader the reply made to such a request. It must, however, be admitted, that three grammars which have been lately published, viz. those of Allen, Arnold, and Latham, though not wholly free from the objections above mentioned, are all improvements upon the old system.

Dr. Allen's work is altogether elementary, and though without pretension, contains much sound information. His system of classification, both of nouns and verbs, is excellent; but the most valuable portion of his book is the lists of primary and secondary derivatives, prefixes, affixes, and collections of words derived from the Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and Greek, of which, however, the Latin and Greek are far more numerous than the Saxon. On the other hand, he has retained many technical terms not adapted to the character of English, and has increased the number of Syntax rules to be committed to memory to upwards of one hundred. The verb also appears far more complicated than is necessary; we find as many as twenty-six tenses in the active voice alone, and fourteen or fifteen in the passive, which fearfully increases the task of learning by heart, and renders the boasted simplicity of our language liable to suspicion. Here, again, we find the leaning towards the old system. Many of what the author calls tenses are in fact forms and not tenses. We have such forms as "I might be praising," and "let me be praising," exhibited as tenses of the verb "to praise." As well might we bring such expressions as "I-shall-be-on-the-point-of-praising," or "I-shall-just-have-been-praised," or any such combination, under the same category. The difficulty and confusion which the introduction of such forms as tenses would involve, is self-evident. Notwithstanding these objections, the eminent qualifications which its author possessed, both in clearness of arrangement and sound practical views, render this little grammar of valuable assistance to students, and make us the more deeply lament the great loss which our literature has sustained by his untimely death.

As a compilation, Mr. Arnold's book is not without merit,

but, like most of his other works, is deficient in unity of design. The author appears afraid to advance a single step without the assistance of some authority. The grammar teems with references, and we meet continually with the names of Becker, Buttmann, Thiersch, Rask, Grimm, Matthiæ, &c. &c. Now, though it is undeniable that an acquaintance with the opinions of German scholars on the subject of general grammar is, in the present state of philology, necessary to all who would write on the subject, surely such knowledge should not be substituted for our own opinions, but should rather be used as an instrument to assist us in arriving at independent conclusions. Notwithstanding these great names, some of the definitions in the early part of the grammar do not appear very clear. In page 2 of the first edition of the Etymology, we find "the name of every *thing* is called a noun substantive, or merely *a substantive*." It is true that to this definition a note is appended, to the following effect: "The word thing is here used *in a loose way* to express any object that has or is conceived by the mind to have an independent existence;" but surely it never can be necessary to use words *in a loose way*, and least of all in a definition. In the course of the book we find the old terms nominative, genitive, dative, and even ablative; active and passive voices of verbs, and a continual reference to the practice of Latin and Greek Grammar. It should be however observed, that the book is professedly written for classical schools, which may perhaps account for the profusion of ancient forms which meets the eye in every page.

Mr. Latham's grammar differs materially from the other two. His comparison of the old Saxon forms with the modern English, his classification of verbs under the heads of weak and strong forms, and his remarks on the derivation and construction of English words, afford evidence of laborious investigation and research, and are a valuable contribution towards reducing our language within its proper limits. The book seems intended rather for reference, than to be used as a practical grammar; for the author can hardly intend that all his remarks should be committed to memory. We should also remark, that it does not contain a single exercise throughout, —a deficiency which should certainly be supplied [illegible] editions.

In making these observations, the writer disclaim

motive than a sincere desire to see justice done to a very much neglected branch of our literature. He is of opinion that those into whose hands the subject of English Grammar has fallen, have been generally, from their peculiar pursuits or prejudices, disqualified for the task. He thinks it the duty of a philosophical grammarian, not only to exhibit the forms of a language as they exist, but to endeavour to lay down some reason for their existing in the state in which they are found. If he can do nothing more than arrange the forms of the language in classes, dependent upon no recognized principle, and held together by no other link than the mere appearance they present to the eye, he contributes nothing whatever to a clearer understanding of his subject—nay, it is even questionable whether his work does not tend to involve it in greater obscurity. He must not be satisfied with a knowledge of facts; he must reason upon those facts, and must investigate their causes; he must shew that there is a natural principle which operates on language uniformly under similar circumstances; that so-called irregularities are not irregularities, but that they are all obedient to fixed laws. He must explain the nature of these laws, shew how they operate, and what circumstances modify their effects. He must never lose sight of the fact that language preceded grammar, that the laws of language are founded in nature, and that consequently grammar is nothing but a collection of facts referable to the operations of the human mind; that it is a statistical record of human philosophy, exhibiting the forms in which nations express their notions and thoughts, and depicting their modes and habits of thinking. In addition to this, the English grammarian must bring to his task an accurate knowledge of all the northern European dialects, their affinities and peculiarities, and must, of course, be critically informed in his own language and literature. Until a writer appears who possesses at least some of these qualifications, we must be content to wait for a philosophical English Grammar. The publication of the above works, however, proves the beginning of a conviction, that something more satisfactory must be done to promote the study of English philology, as well as to redeem us from the disgrace of having allowed the philosophy of our language to fall into such utter neglect.

G. F. Graham.

XXVI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

APOLLON'S ANKUNFT IN DELPHI, von P. W. Forchhammer. Kiel, 1840, 4to. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

THIS is a dissertation, in which a picture on an Etruscan mirror is explained and illustrated by ingenious views of mythology. The mirror represents, according to Forchhammer, the surrender of the Delphic oracle to Apollo by Poseidon and Themis. He contends that the gods of the Grecian mythology ought to be viewed, not only as symbols of the powers of nature, but also in connection with the operation of those powers at the different seasons of the year, and in particular places. In his view, Poseidon is the god, not so much of the sea as of the waters which cover the earth; Themis is the goddess of rising vapour; and Apollo the power who dries the earth, both by draining off the water and by causing it to evaporate. In Greece, therefore, where the winter is not so much the *cold* as the *wet* season (χειμών from χέω), Poseidon is the deity of winter, Themis of the first opening spring, and Apollo of the spring itself, "the youthful god of the youthful world." At Delphi, among the swollen streams which flow from mount Parnassus in winter, there is one which pours out of a cave (δελφύς), and which was compared by the ancients to a serpent with a swollen belly (Delphyne or Delphine), which devoured all the little brooks, and washed the plain of Cirrha, and whose wings and bloody hair reaching to the stars were symbols of the vapours which rose to the sky from the prevailing waters. This season corresponds to the period during which Delphi, with its oracle, was possessed by Poseidon and Ge (earth). But as the year advances the waters begin to drain away, and to disperse in vapour. Then, according to the myth, Ge resigns her share in the oracle to her daughter Themis. Next comes the advent of the god of spring, who, by shooting out his sun-beams like arrows, destroys the serpent-river. The Delphine serpent now becomes a decaying carcase (Pytho). The torrent is reduced to the brook Cassotis, but its vapours are still the source of inspiration, and rising from beneath the temple of the god, they give forth their oracles. The advent of Apollo the Delphinian, the slayer of Pytho, is now complete, and Themis resigns to him her share in the oracle. Poseidon also retires from Delphi, receiving in exchange the island of Calauria, off Troezen, where *inundations prevail in the*

spring. Placed thus in full possession of the oracle, Apollo gives forth his responses *in the spring*, in the month *Pythios*. Still, the existence of the oracle depends on the vapour arising from the brook Cassotis, and accordingly, when it is entirely dried up by the fierce heats of summer, Apollo is said to be robbed of his tripod by the more powerful Herakles, who is only induced to relinquish his prize by a tempest which is sent by Zeus, the god of the atmosphere, and which restores the moisture that the heat, symbolized by Herakles, had destroyed. On the return of winter, Poseidon, who had been absent in Æthiopia during the summer, the season of the inundation of the Nile, comes back to Delphi, from which Apollo again retires. It was the Greek belief that the oracle was untrustworthy during this season, on account of the absence of the god.

For the full developement of the views which we have thus imperfectly sketched, and for their illustration by the Etruscan mirror in question, and by other works of art, we must refer the reader to Forchhammer's pamphlet, which, as will be evident from the above remarks, opens a wide field for discussion.

Die Geburt der Athene, von P. W. Forchhammer. Kiel, 1841, 4to. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

This is another ingenious dissertation, in which Forchhammer gives a physical explanation of the myth of the birth of Athena out of the head of Zeus, and illustrates his view by an explanation of a painting on an Etruscan vase, in which the birth of Athena is represented.

Βαβρίου Μυθίαμβοι. Babrii Fabulæ Iambicæ CXXIII., nunc primum editæ. J. F. Boissonade recensuit, Latine convertit, annotavit. (Paris and London: Firmin Didot, 1844, 8vo.)

In No. IV., p. 140, of the *Classical Museum*, we mentioned the extraordinary literary discoveries made by M. Minoides Minas, and it is with pleasure that we now announce the publication of the choliambic fables of Babrius, which were for centuries believed to be lost, and for the speedy publication of which we are indebted to the zeal of M. de Villemain, who intrusted the office of editing them to M. Boissonade, one of the most industrious among modern scholars. The MS. of these fables was found by M. Minas in a library of the convent of St. Laura, on Mount Athos; it was in a most deplorable condition, and the monks demanded so exorbitant a price for it, that M. Minas did not feel

justified in purchasing it, and accordingly took only a copy of it to Paris. From this transcript M. Boissonade has edited the fables, which are presented to the world for the first time since their loss in the middle ages, and have literally been rescued from dust and vermin by the patient industry of M. Minas and the editor. There is a report, that at one time there existed at Grotta Ferrara a MS. containing thirty fables of Babrius, and another was discovered a few years ago in Spain, but nothing has hitherto appeared in print, except some fragments gleaned from Suidas and other grammarians, and a few entire fables, which were published in 1835 by Knoch. The fragments which do not occur in the fables of the newly-discovered collection have been added to it by Boissonade; the others, of course, now appear in their proper places, or are quoted in the notes; for most of them are quoted by the grammarians in prose, though in many cases it is still evident that the fables from which they are taken were written in verse. It has hitherto been the common opinion that Babrius lived before the time of Augustus, but the question has become very doubtful by some passages in the newly-discovered fables, for in one of the two proœmia (p. 208), Babrius addresses a son of one βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, who seems to be the same as the Branchus mentioned in two other places (p. 2, and *Fab.* LXXIV.), and whom Boissonade is inclined to look upon as a son of the emperor Severus Alexander. The one hundred and twenty-three fables are arranged in alphabetical order, that is, according to the initial letter of each poem; but the present collection does not go further than the letter O; so that a considerable number of fables is still wanting. The whole appears to have been divided into two books, or as Avienus calls them *volumina;* for there are two proœmia, one at the beginning of the collection, and another before the beginning of the letter M, which probably formed the beginning of the second book. M. Boissonade believes that Babrius was a Roman, and that his full name was Valerius Babrius. This would account for some blunders in his versification, though many of them must undoubtedly be set down to the transcriber. The editor has endeavoured to remedy the defects of his transcript, partly by conjectural emendation, and partly by the assistance of such fragments as were known before. The Latin translation which he has added, though it was scarcely necessary, is plain and lucid. We can heartily recommend to our readers the perusal and study of these venerable relics of antiquity which have come to light so unexpectedly.

PLUTARCHI CIMON. Commentariis suis illustravit et de vitæ hujus fontibus disseruit Arnoldus Ekker. Trajecti ad Rhen., 1843. 8vo. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

THE most valuable portion of this separate edition of Plutarch's *Life of Cimon* is the Proœmium, in which M. Ekker discusses, at considerable length, the sources from which Plutarch derived his information about Cimon. We thus have discussions on Thucydides, Ion of Chios, Stesimbrotus, Cratinus, Melanthius, Archelaus, Ephorus, Theopompus, Phanodemus, Diodorus Periegetes, Gorgias Leontinus, Æschines, Nausicrates, Aristotle, Eupolis, Aristophanes, and Critias, from p. 1 to p. 38. The points in question of course are, what light these writers throw upon the life of Cimon, and how far Plutarch made use of them for his biography. These discussions are followed by a chronological table of the events of Cimon's life. In constituting the text of his author, M. Ekker is almost entirely dependent upon his predecessors, especially upon Sintenis, from whom he rarely ventures to differ. The commentary is extremely useful, in regard to the matter which requires explanation, and is a very good specimen of what an historical commentary should be. The part in which M. Ekker gives least satisfaction are his grammatical notes; for many of the real difficulties are passed over unnoticed, while he dilates upon trivial points, which any one might learn from his grammar or dictionary. Notwithstanding this, however, Ekker's book is a very valuable edition of this biography, and may take its place by the side of the best works of the kind.

PROPERTII ELEGIARUM LIBRI QUATUOR. Quæstionum Propertianarum Libris tribus, et commentariis illustravit Guil. Ad. B. Hertzberg, Ph. Dr. Vol. I. and II. Halle, 1843-44. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

THE former of these two volumes contains a disquisition on the life and writings of Propertius; the second is occupied with the text, to which is subjoined a copious list of various readings; and the work will be completed by a third volume, which will contain the editor's commentaries. The author avows himself a follower of the philological in preference to the æsthetical school; and his work is not destined for the use of students, but of the learned.

The preliminary dissertation, which, under the title of "Quæstiones Propertianæ," professes to give a complete literary history of Propertius, is divided into three books. The first of these is devoted to the ife of the poet; the second enters into a critical examination of his

poems; and the third is occupied with an inquiry respecting the history and preservation of his writings, and the MSS. and editions in which they have been handed down.

The dreadful times which ushered in the Roman empire produced much the same effects on manners and literature as the civil wars in our own country. The poetical taste of the Augustan period bore a considerable resemblance to that of Charles the Second's time; and the strains of Rochester and Sedley form no unapt counterpart to the love elegies of Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid.

The design of Propertius' work is not unlike that of Cowley's *Mistress*. Who Propertius' Cynthia was, has been the subject of some dispute. That her real name was Hostia seems generally agreed; and some commentators have absurdly endeavoured to derive her lineage from the kings of Rome. Dr. Hertzberg has, we think, done more wisely in ranking her among the higher class of ladies of easy virtue with which Rome then abounded; at least we cannot reconcile the drunken nocturnal visit described in the third elegy of the first book, as well as various other passages, with any other notions of her.

In the third chapter of the second book, Propertius is compared with Catullus, Tibullus, and Ovid. With a prejudice natural and excusable in an editor, Dr. Hertzberg takes a high view of the poetical merits of his author, not, we think, without some undue depreciation of Ovid. That Ovid had many faults may be readily conceded; but in spite of these he was ten times more a poet than Propertius. One of the principal merits of the latter is, the correct view which he took of his own genius; he is thoroughly conscious of his unfitness for launching out into the higher strains of poetry, and under the influence of this feeling he represents Phœbus himself as advising him to keep in shore:

"Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat arenas," III. 3. 23.

But this timidity, whilst it saved him from falling into great faults, prevented him from attaining any considerable beauties.

In the second chapter of his third book, Dr. Hertzberg touches on the disjointed state in which the writings of Propertius have come down to us. The 25th and following verse of the 13th elegy of the second book have always proved a stumbling-block to the critics:

"Sat mea sat magna est si *tres* sint pompa *libelli*,
Quos ego Persephonæ maxima dona feram."

Here two difficulties arise; 1st, how comes Propertius to talk of only three books, when four are extant? Again, how could he mention a *third* book at the time when he was composing the 13th elegy of his *second*? The critics have pretty unanimously disposed of the first of these difficulties by considering the fourth book as a posthumous

one, consisting of a selection from his papers made by his literary executors. As to the second, opinions are more divided. Lachmann cut the knot by making the third book begin with the 10th elegy of the second. Dr. Hertzberg's objection to this is, that the date of the elegy is too early for the third book. His proof of this is drawn from the 16th verse:

"Et domus *intactæ* te tremit Arabiæ:"

which, he contends, being meant in flattery of Augustus, could not have been written after the expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia in the beginning of the year 730, and which proved a signal failure. We think, however, that the elegy must have been written after the restoration by the Parthians, in the year 734, of the standards taken from Crassus, on account of the following lines:

"Jam negat Euphrates equitem post terga tueri
Parthorum, et Crassos se tenuisse dolet:" V. 13, 14.

though Dr. H. quotes these very lines to shew that it could not have been written after that event, as the restoration of the standards is not expressly mentioned. The epithet *intacta* would have been still applicable to Arabia after the expedition of Gallus, and there are two other lines in the elegy which, we think, indisputably shew that it was a late production of the author, and written after he had bid adieu to love. They are the following:

"Ætas prima canat Veneres, extrema tumultus:
Bella canam quando scripta puella mea est."

The other opinion rests on a strained interpretation of *quando* and of *tenuisse* in the former lines. The drift of Dr. Hertzberg's argument is to make it appear that, from the time in which it was written, the elegy properly belongs to the second book. Considering, however, the hypothesis which he has started in opposition to Lachmann's, we do not see why he should be so anxious to do this. There are other pieces in the second book which cannot be reconciled with the assumed date of it, especially the 13th elegy already mentioned; and, in order to get rid of this difficulty, Dr. Hertzberg supposes that at the time of Propertius's death he had only published his first book; but that he left the MSS. of his second and third in a state fit for publication, besides many other drafts of verses which his executors published in a fourth. From amongst these last, however, the same convenient gentlemen are supposed to have selected a few elegies which related to his former loves, and to have thrust them into a gap which they perceived about the middle of the second book! (See Vol. I. p. 219-20.) If this were so, it is not difficult to imagine that they might have been indiscreet enough to insert the tenth also.

On the whole, Dr. Hertzberg's book contains a good deal of useful information concerning Propertius; but we cannot say that it is altogether free from prolixity and inconclusive reasoning: two faults which not unfrequently disfigure the works of German philologers.

STRABONIS GEOGRAPHICA: recensuit, commentario critico instruxit Gustavus Kramer. Vol. I. Berlin, 1844. 8vo. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

ANY one at all acquainted with the literature of Strabo must hail with pleasure the appearance of a really critical edition of that writer; for there is scarcely any ancient author whose work stood so much in need of a critical examination and revision by the assistance of good MSS., as Strabo. The work could not have fallen into better hands than those of Dr. Kramer, who is favourably known in this country through his work on Greek vase-painting.

A glance at what has been done for Strabo before Kramer, will shew us more clearly how much there remained to be done. After the time of Casaubon, scarcely any thing was done to improve the text of Strabo. M. De Brequigny collated a Paris MS.; but he scarcely ever ventured to deviate from the readings of Casaubon; and besides, he did not carry his contemplated edition beyond the first three books. Siebenkees collated several Italian MSS.; but in constituting his text, he was scarcely more independent of Casaubon than De Brequigny, and he moreover acted with the most culpable levity and carelessness. After he had advanced as far as the seventh book, he died, and Tschucke, who undertook the completion of the edition, did all he could to give a correct text in the remaining part of the work. But he was unacquainted with the best MSS., and was in general more distinguished as a diligent compiler than as a sound and judicious critic. Even Mr. Falconer, although he had collations of a great many MSS., gave little more than a reprint of Casaubon's text, to whose notes he added those of other commentators. Coraes, the latest editor, though he did much by his critical sagacity to improve the text of Strabo, yet attached too little importance to MSS., which alone can afford us the means of restoring a correct text. He therefore introduced a number of corruptions into his author, along with many emendations which are necessary and ingenious. Dr. Kramer, who was deeply impressed with the necessity of collating the best MSS., made it his business, before he set about his task, to examine, during a stay of nearly three years in Italy, all the MSS. of Strabo at Rome, Ravenna, Venice, and Milan, to make collations, and to ascertain the real value of each MS. The Prussian go-

vernment subsequently enabled him to consult also the Paris MSS., so that, as far as we know, there is no MS. of any consequence which has not been collated by the present editor. His abilities, combined with his unwearied industry, have thus enabled him to produce an edition of Strabo which throws all previous editions into the shade. The present volume contains a brief survey of the critical labours bestowed upon Strabo, and a detailed account of all the MSS. which the editor has collated, embracing those which contain all or some books complete, as well as those which contain mere abridgements of Strabo's work, from p. 1 to p. 94. The remainder of the volume comprises the text of the first six books, with the more important various readings at the foot of the page. At the end is added an index of the fragments of the first six books, which are contained in a Vatican epitome.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Brutus, sive de Claris Oratoribus Liber. Recensuit, emendavit, interpretatus est Fridericus Ellendt. Præmittitur brevis eloquentiæ Romanæ usque ad Cæsarum ætatem historia. Regimont. Pruss., 1844. 8vo. (London: D. Nutt.)

Professor Ellendt, who is well known through his valuable *Lexicon Sophocleum* and his edition of *Cicero de Oratore*, here presents us with a new edition of Cicero's *Brutus*. His first edition appeared in 1825, and although the author himself, in the course of time, became thoroughly dissatisfied with it, it was yet looked upon by scholars as a most useful book. Its defects arose principally from the editor not having had any opportunity of consulting MSS. This opportunity was afforded to him when he travelled to Italy for the purpose of collating some MSS. for his contemplated edition of *Cicero de Oratore*. Criticism of the text was, in the first edition, a secondary object, and Ellendt directed his attention more particularly to the explanation of the subject-matter of his author. This desire led him to prefix to his edition a short history of the gradual developement of Roman oratory. This history, brief as it was, gave the first impulse to a more extensive study of that branch of Roman literature, and called forth H. Meyer's excellent collection of the fragments of Roman oratory, and Westermann's history of Roman oratory. With the assistance of these later productions, to which Ellendt himself had given rise, he has now been enabled almost entirely to remodel his account of the history of Roman oratory, which occupies 150 pages of the present edition. The improvements in this part of the work, however, are not as important as those which he has introduced into the text and commentary, and, in this respect, the present edition differs so widely from the first,

that the author does not seem to wish it to be considered as a second edition, but as an entirely new work. The text is more correct than in any other edition; the most important various readings are given at the foot of the page, and the explanatory commentary, which is a model of precision and completeness, follows after the text, from p. 323 to p. 434. The volume concludes with three copious indexes. The manner in which the first edition was received, and the great improvements of the present one, cannot fail to secure to the latter a most welcome reception from all lovers of Roman literature.

HANDBUCH DER RÖMISCHEN ALTERTHUEMER, nach den Quellen bearbeitet, von Wilhelm Adolph Becker, Prof. an der Univ., Leipzig, Zweiter Theil, Erste Abtheilung. Leipzig, 1844, 8vo. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

THE author of this work is well known in this country by the excellent account which he has given of the private life of the Greeks and Romans, in his *Charikles*, and *Gallus;* and his reputation will be still further increased by this *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, which is certainly very far superior to any other systematic work of the kind. It is to be completed in three volumes. The first volume, which was published at the latter end of last year, contains an account of the sources, and what is called in Germany the literature of Roman antiquities (pp. 1-68), and likewise a description of the city of Rome, which occupies nearly seven hundred pages. It is only to be regretted that Professor Becker speaks of his predecessors with that want of respect and courtesy, to which their honest researches, though they may occasionally be mistaken, entitle them. The first part of the second volume, which has only just reached this country, is devoted to the political antiquities of Rome. Though this part contains upwards of four hundred pages, it will require at least another part of the same size to finish this branch of the subject; but the author informs us that the work will be completed in three volumes. The part, which has just appeared, is divided into three sections: the first contains an account of the origin of the Roman state (pp. 3—25); the second, of the different elements of the Roman population and its organisation (pp. 26—290), which subject is treated of in ten chapters, namely: (1.) On the *Ramnes*, *Tities*, *Luceres*, *Curiæ*, *Gentes;* (2.) On the Free and Slave Population; (3.) On the *Cives*, *Latini*, *Peregrini;* (4.) On *Caput* and *Capitis Deminutio;* (5.) On the *Patroni* and *Clientes;* (6.) On the Patricians and Plebeians; (7.) On the Country

and City Tribes; (8.) On the Classes and Centuries; (9.) On the *Nobilitas;* (10.) On the Equestrian Order. The third section gives an account of the constitution under the Kings (pp. 291—393,) which is treated of in three chapters: (1.) On the Royalty, *Reges, Interreges;* (2.) On the Senate; (3.) On the popular assembly.

Among the many merits of Professor Becker, there are two which deserve particular mention, and which render the above-mentioned work of such great value. The first is, the clear and accurate conception which he has of the subjects which he discusses, renders his work very pleasing to read; and the second is, his extensive acquaintance with the ancient writers. So that while he avails himself, of course, of the labours of modern scholars, he has not merely compiled his work, like Ruperti has done in his Manual of Roman Antiquities, from the works of his predecessors, and without understanding them, but has drawn his conclusions from a diligent study of Greek and Roman literature.

We trust that this work will not remain long untranslated into our language.

ARISTOPHANIS COMŒDIÆ, CUM SCHOLIIS. Ex recensione Roberti Enger. Vol. I., parts 1 and 2, containing the Lysistrata and Thesmophoriazusæ. Bonn, 1844, 8vo. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

THERE is, apparently, no lack of good editions of Aristophanes; and the names of Bekker, Dindorf, and Mitchell, who have of late years laboured in the same field, might seem to throw an air of presumption around a man who ventures to hope for a rich harvest in the same department. But matters are far different from what they appear to be. Even Dindorf, whose best edition (Oxford, 1835—37) alone can, properly speaking, claim the merit of being a new recension of the text of Aristophanes, has retained a great number of unnecessary conjectures of Brunck; and as for the explanation of his author, he has done little more than transcribe the notes of his predecessors. But what is worse than this is, that Dindorf did not collate the *editio Juntina.* He, indeed, mentions the readings of that edition, but misrepresents them almost throughout. With the same carelessness, he attributes to other more recent editions readings which are not to be found in them. The consideration of this state of things has induced M. Enger to undertake a new recension of the text of Aristophanes. Through the assistance of friends he obtained accurate collations of the editio princeps (which was copied from a very good MS. at Urbino), and of MSS., and the

care and conscientiousness with which the two plays before us are edited, are deserving of the highest commendation; and it is, perhaps, not saying too much, that the Lysistrata is now produced for the first time in a correct and readable form. The Scholia are occasionally accompanied by brief comments and various readings; and the commentary on the plays is chiefly critical, though the explanation of difficulties in the text is not neglected.

XXVII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

ÆSCHYLI Supplices. Recensuit, emendavit, explanavit F. A. Paley. Cambridge, 1844. 8vo.

Ainsworth, W. F., Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks; a Geographical and Descriptive Account of the Expedition of Cyrus and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, as related by Xenophon. London, J. W. Parker, 1844. 8vo.

Allen, Dr. Alex., Constructive Exercises for teaching Greek. 2nd edition, by J. Robson. London, Taylor and Walton, 1844. 12mo.

Civil Wars of Rome. Select Lives of Plutarch. A new Translation, with Notes, by G. Long. London, Ch. Knight, 1844. 24mo.

Craig, G. L., Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England, from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Elizabeth. London, Ch. Knight, 1844. Vols. I. and II. 24mo.

Demosthenes, De falsa Legatione, with a careful revision of the text, annotatio critica, English notes, philological and historical, and appendices. By R. Shillito. Cambridge, 1844. 8vo.

Eschenburg, J. J., Manual of Classical Literature. Translated from the German, by W. Fiske. 4th edition. Philadelphia and London, 1844. 8vo.

Flower, M. and Rev. W. B., A Practical English Grammar. London, Simpkin and Marshall, 1844. 24mo.

Gray, Mrs. Hamilton, The History of Etruria. Part II., from the foundation of Rome to the general peace in B.C. 338. London, 1844. 12mo.

Halliwell, J. O., A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, &c., from the Fourteenth Century. Part I. London, 1844. 8vo.

Livius, T., History of Rome, with English notes, marginal references, and various readings. By C. W. Stocker, D.D. Vol. I., part 1. The first decad. Oxford, 1844. 8vo.

Plutarch, On the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked. By H. B. Hackett.

Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Vol. II., Part 1. London, Taylor and Walton, 1845. 8vo.

Wallace, A Dissertation on the True Age of the World, in which is determined the Chronology of the period from Creation to the Christian era. London, Smith and Elder, 1844. 8vo.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

ARISTOPHANES cum scholiis. Ed. R. Enger. Vol. I., Pars 2. Thesmophoriazusæ. 8vo. Bonn.

Aristotelis Organon. Græce. Ed. Waitz. Pars 1. Categoriæ, Hermeneutica, Analytica priora. 8vo. Lips.